

REGIONAL PHONOLOGICAL VARIANTS IN LOUISIANA SPEECH

By

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KEY TO SYMBOLS

Phonetic Symbols

Vowel Symbols

Key Word (or Explanation)

[i]	fee
[ɪ]	(centralized [i])
[ɪ]	fix
[ɛ]	(centralized [ɪ])
[e]	French blé
[ɛ]	wreck
[ɜ]	bird
[ɜ]	bird (in "r-less" speech)
[o]	(rounded [ɜ])
[æ]	sack
[a]	(between [æ] and [ɑ])
[a]	sock
[ʊ]	(between [a] and [ɔ])
[ʌ]	stuck
[ɐ]	(between [ʌ] and [a])
[ɔ]	(between [ʌ] and [v])
[ɔ]	hawk
[o]	French chaud
[v]	book
[ʌ]	(centralized [ʌ])

[u]	true
[ʊ]	(centralized [u])
[ə]	about
[ɐ]	singer

Vowel diacritics

[ʰ] after symbol
[ʰ] after symbol
[^] after symbol
[v] after symbol
[:] after symbol
[ˈ] above symbol
[ˌ] above symbol
[~] below symbol

Modification indicated

backed
fronted
raised
lowered
lengthened
primary stress
secondary stress
lightly articulated

Consonant Symbols

[p]	super
[b]	boy
[t]	stick
[d]	down
[ɹ]	American English butter
[k]	skip
[g]	go
[ʔ]	(glottal stop)
[β]	Spanish cabo

Key Word (or Explanation)

[f]	<i>far</i>
[v]	<i>very</i>
[θ]	<i>thick</i>
[ð]	<i>bother</i>
[s]	<i>sing</i>
[z]	<i>zoo</i>
[ʃ]	<i>shucks</i>
[ʒ]	<i>vision</i>
[x]	<i>German ach</i>
[h]	<i>hope</i>
[ç]	<i>choose</i>
[j]	<i>jury</i>
[m]	<i>more</i>
[n]	<i>now</i>
[ŋ]	<i>sing</i>
[l]	<i>lit</i>
[ɫ]	<i>cull</i>
[r]	<i>ring</i>
[w]	<i>wind</i>
[j]	<i>yes</i>

Consonant diacritics

[:] after symbol
['] after symbol
[~] after symbol

Modification indicated

lengthened
aspirated
unreleased

[_ɹ] below symbol	dental articulation
[_ʌ] below symbol	slight voicing added
[_ɹ] below symbol	syllabic consonant

Phonemic Symbols

<i>Vowel Symbols</i>	<i>Key Word</i>
/i/	three
/I/	thick
/e/	bay
/ɛ/	wreck
/ɜ/	bird
/æ/	back
/ɑ/	park (in "r-less" speech)
/a/	sock
/ai/	p'ike
/ɔi/	boy
/au/	cow
/ɔ/	law
/ʌ/	truck
/o/	over
/ʊ/	look
/u/	true

Consonant Symbols

The same symbols are used for consonant phonemes as for consonant phones, except that they are enclosed in virgules // rather than brackets [] and the symbols [ɹ, ʌ, ɹ, β, ʌ] are omitted.

Other Symbols

∅

zero

/R/

etymological /r/

~ between items

varies to

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Chairman: Dr. John Algeo
Major Department: English

The study is based on tape-recorded conversations of twenty-eight informants in eighteen Louisiana communities made for the *Dictionary of American Regional English*. On the basis of settlement history and previous dialect studies, dealing with vocabulary, Louisiana is divided into four regions: northern Louisiana, the Florida Parishes, French Louisiana, and New Orleans. The settlement history of each community is briefly traced, and the family background, occupation, and approximate social standing of each informant is given, together with some mention of outstanding speech characteristics. All informants were native English speakers; they ranged in age from eleven to eighty-eight years and in educational level from grammar school to graduate school. Numerically, the distribution of informants was weighted toward those sixty or older and those with relatively little formal schooling. Tables are

provided illustrating the range of vowel articulations found on the recording of each informant.

Discussion is largely limited to those segmental phonemes which show significant variation; the aim is to describe phonetic features characteristic of each region. Maps are included for all stressed vowel phonemes and for a few consonants. In the absence of phonological distinctions, northern Louisiana and the Florida Parishes are classed together as Anglo Louisiana. The consonants showing the greatest degree of variation are /θ/ and /ð/, the initial consonant or consonant cluster in words like *where* and *whip*, and postvocalic /r/, the treatment of which varies in most communities and many idiolects. Among the free vowels, the phonetic realizations of /i, e, ɔ, o, u/ are generally upglided diphthongs in Anglo Louisiana and monophthongs in French Louisiana; New Orleans speech shows characteristics of both regions. The vowel nuclei /ai, ɔi, au/ show varying degrees of regional variation. Variation in /ɑ/ and /ɜ/ is related to that in the treatment of postvocalic /r/. Checked vowels show fewer differences between speech regions than free vowels do. In Anglo Louisiana /ʌ/ is relatively high and back; contrasts between front checked vowels are reduced before nasals; and /æ/ may have a rising and fronting offglide in certain environments. The development of words which in Middle English had short /ɔ/ is inconsistent in a band across south central Louisiana. To facilitate discussion, vowels in words

which etymologically have a vowel followed by /r/ are considered to be in a separate subsystem. Vowel contrasts are reduced in that environment, and usual articulatory placement is not the same as before other consonants. The low back vowels present especially difficult problems here. Most unstressed vowels fall naturally into one of three groups: /ɪ/ or /ə/ or /ɜ/, the last of which is limited in its occurrence in the same way as postvocalic /r/. Additionally, a few distinct back vowels were found in unstressed syllables.

Patterns characteristic of French Louisiana have not spread far outside it; on the other hand, the speech of informants in French Louisiana communities with a history of early settlement by native English speakers includes many features characteristic of Anglo Louisiana. In several respects, the English of New Orleans follows the usage of French Louisiana; in others it is more like that of Anglo Louisiana. Variation by age and social level is difficult to abstract from the data; a few trends are tentatively described, but it would require a larger number of informants to separate them from regional trends. Overall, phonological patterns in Louisiana are highly complex and subject to numerous exceptions.

CHAPTER I

THE BACKGROUNDS

Climate and the lay of the land have no direct effect on the way people talk except insofar as they use different words for different topographical features or make comments appropriate to their own kind of weather which may not fit someone else's weather at all. But the speech of people who live on high ground is no more nor less nasal, on the average, than that of people who live in swamps, nor do people in warm climates invariably drawl. We talk the way we do because we do our best to sound like the people around us—at the very least enough like them to be understood, and preferably enough like them not to be laughed at. In our very early years, the years when basic speech patterns are formed, the people around us are our parents, brothers, sisters, neighbors, grandparents, and so forth, but chiefly our parents. Later on we include teachers and classmates among those around us, though we do not accord them all equal importance; in general, we would rather sound like our classmates than like our teachers. Later still we include the people with whom we work, trade, and attend social and civic functions. All of those people learned to talk from the people around them, chiefly their parents, who learned to talk chiefly from their parents before them, and so forth. If two groups, therefore, whose speech is noticeably different establish two communities between which there is little or no

communication, the ancestral differences will be preserved, and the speech of those communities will remain different as long as they remain isolated from each other and from any normalizing outside influence.

On the other hand, although our imitation of our parents is nearly always good enough to pass muster, it is never perfect, and over a period of generations enough drift can take place that the speech of great-grandchildren is noticeably different from the speech of great-grandparents in some respects even though the great majority of speech characteristics are preserved. So if two groups whose speech is the same establish two communities between which there is little or no communication, enough ancestral similarities will remain that it will be possible to recognize a relationship between them generations later. However, the drift away from perfect imitation of the original group will not be the same in both communities as long as they remain isolated, and it is likely that there will be noticeable differences in their speech after a few generations. The language of any speech community at any one time, then, is a development of the speech brought to that community by its linguistic ancestors as it has been modified by successive generations and as it has been influenced by late arrivals and by contact with other speech communities.

Strictly speaking, it is possible and often desirable to study the speech of a particular area, large or small, without regard for any factors other than the language itself. But in a study devoted

primarily to regional language differences, it is helpful to relate those differences to the factors which caused them or allowed them to develop. Those factors depend on settlement history, and settlement history depends on politics, climate, and the lay of the land.

Therefore, this study of the English language spoken in Louisiana begins with a general description of the land within the state boundaries. The land may have no direct effect on the language, but it does help to determine where successive groups of newcomers settle and what routes they take to get there. Rivers serve as avenues along their length, speeding commerce and promoting communication between settlements along their banks. On the other hand, very often they form barriers to travel across them, isolating communities away from their banks on opposite sides. Rich land easily reached commonly attracts the first immigrants available. Poor land difficult of access may be settled only when a later wave of immigration, perhaps from a different source, creates a new demand for homesites. To these geographical factors, government adds political ones, encouraging settlers from one source, banning those from another, and assigning a particular area to those from a third. Out of the balance of these trends and influences comes what might be termed the character of the population of a given region; language both influences and is influenced by that character.

The State of Louisiana lies in the south central United States at the southern end of the great Mississippi Valley. Shaped roughly

like a boot with the toe pointed eastward (see Figure 1), it is bounded on the south by the Gulf of Mexico, on the west by Texas, on the north by Arkansas, and on the east by Mississippi. The richest and generally the most thickly populated areas of the state are the river valleys. The flood plain of the Mississippi extends from the northeastern corner of the state southwards through New Orleans to the Gulf of Mexico, and that of the Red River runs from the northwest corner of the state southeastwards to join the Mississippi near the midpoint of its course through the state, forming a broad, slanting Y of rich, silty land that is renewed every time the rivers flood. Native timber in the river bottoms is cypress, gum, and oak, but most of the timber has been cleared now to make room for crops, and levees have been erected to hold back the floods. In the southern part of the state, where the climate is warm enough, sugar cane is the principal crop on this kind of land. Further north, where cotton was once almost the only crop, soybeans now cover as much acreage as cotton and seem to be gaining in importance. This kind of land was cultivated most profitably in colonial times by slave labor, and the plantation style of agriculture became dominant there. Although machines have now taken over much of the work formerly done by slaves and mules, large plantations still take up a substantial percentage of farming land and Negroes still outnumber whites in most parts, so that the delta land is often called Louisiana's *Black Belt*.

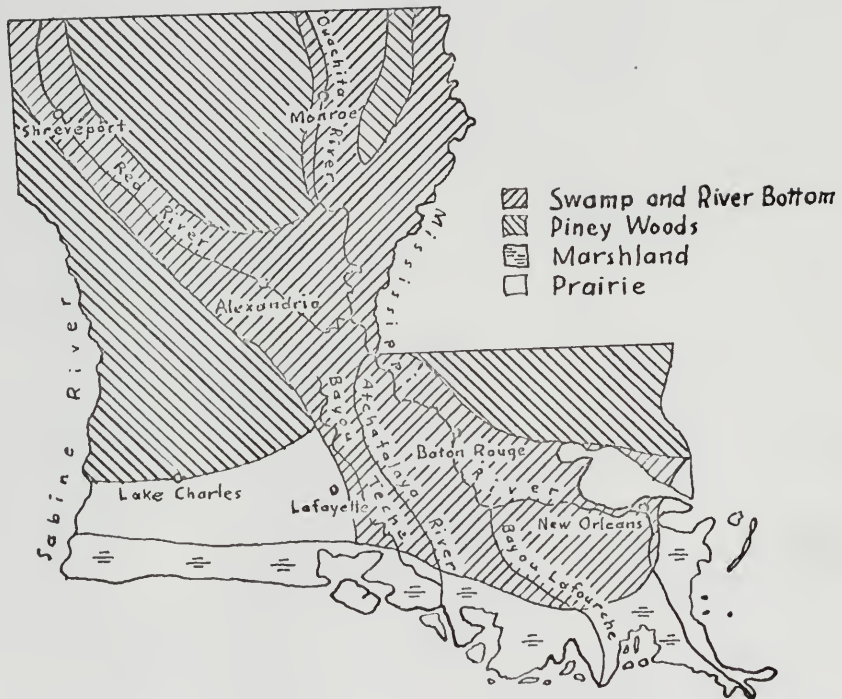


Figure 1. Louisiana, showing topographical divisions and some major towns, cities, and rivers.

South and west of New Orleans, the Black Belt is widened considerably by a number of streams leading away from the Mississippi on their own branching courses toward the gulf and by independent bayous whose banks rise far enough above the surrounding swamps to support agriculture. An odd feature of the landscape, more noticeable the farther south you go, is that the land slopes *away* from the river-bank, so that very often cultivation is possible only within a half mile or so of the river or bayou on either side. After that the land becomes too swampy for crops and since the water level in the swamp is almost as variable as that in the streams, the fields are protected from flooding by levees on both sides. Outside these cultivated areas, the swamps of southern Louisiana are as truly wilderness as any area in the country.

In the northern part of the state, between the limbs of the Y formed by the flood plains of the Mississippi and Red Rivers, is a roughly triangular area of fairly high ground. The land is sandy and rolling, with red clay subsoil. It was originally forested with pine or a mixture of oak and pine. All the virgin timber has been cut, but much of the area has been reseeded to longleaf, loblolly, and slash pines, so that forestry is still important there. Land not covered by extensive government- or corporation-owned forests is given over to small farms. Plantations were never profitable there although a great deal of cotton was grown on homesteads otherwise devoted to subsistence farming.

A similar stretch of piney woods forms an irregular crescent along the Texas border from near Shreveport, in the northwest corner, to just northwest of Lake Charles, near the southwest corner. Pine forests in this section were logged so thoroughly that the parishes (corresponding to counties in other states) along the Sabine River are often called the "cut-over parishes." They have been reseeded, though, and by 1968 they were mostly piney woods again. Some areas are still bare enough to be used as pasture for sheep and cattle, and large farms in this section are called "ranches," not "plantations." Subsistence farming was the way of life of most of the first settlers.

South and southeast of this stretch of piney woods lies an extensive prairie which reaches from the Texas line just north of Cameron Parish eastward to the Mississippi flood plain some forty miles west of Baton Rouge. This area is laced with cypress swamps and river bottoms, but stretches of plain grassland are surprisingly wide. The whole area is suitable for grazing, and has long been one of the chief rice-producing areas of the country.

South of this, in a wide swath along the coast, are coastal marshes so nearly level that their gradient must be measured in inches rather than feet, even for distances of several miles. Around the edges of the fan-shaped Mississippi Delta south of New Orleans, extending roughly from the Atchafalaya Bayou eastward and northward around to Lake Pontchartrain, these marshes are built up from recent alluvial deposits and stretch farther into the sea every year. Like

land in the swamps further north, the ground slopes away from stream banks, and may be built up enough along the Mississippi and the larger bayous to support the cultivation of sugar cane. Otherwise the inhabitants of the marshlands support themselves by catching and selling muskrats, nutria, and crawfish in the marsh and by guiding duckhunters through it. West of the Atchafalaya, the alluvial deposits are older and have been augmented by the action of waves on the gulf, which has left long, low ridges in the marsh, called *chenières* because they were originally covered with oaks, called *chênes* in French. Cultivation of crops is not practical here, but cattle grazewidely on the marsh grass. All along the gulf coast, shrimp, oyster, and menhaden fishing are important occupations, and oil, salt, and gas deposits are contributing to increased industrialization.

North of New Orleans lies Lake Pontchartrain, and north of Lake Pontchartrain and east of the Mississippi River lies another stretch of rolling ground originally forested with a mixture of oak and pine. In this area plantations and small farms may be found side by side—neither system seems to dominate, although some of Louisiana's finest antebellum plantation homes may be found there. Around the northern shore of Lake Pontchartrain truck farming is common. The whole area was once a part of the province of West Florida and is consequently usually called the *Florida Parishes*.

Such a rich and varied land, lying at the mouth of one of the largest rivers in the world, was sure to attract explorers and adventurers eager to claim its wealth for themselves and their countrymen. The remnants of Hernando de Soto's Spanish expedition were probably the first white men to enter the region now known as Louisiana, but it was Pierre de La Salle, a Frenchman, who claimed it for his country. Since then, men of many other lands have come, either to establish permanent homes or to get rich and leave, and the governments which have ruled the land have been almost as varied as the people who settled it.

It was in 1682 that La Salle, on behalf of France, laid claim to the land drained by the Ohio, Mississippi, and Missouri Rivers, together with territory encompassing the present states of Alabama and Mississippi, the western half of Georgia, and the northwest third of Florida. The area of this original claim was almost half that of the present contiguous United States. Actual French settlement of this vast territory was confined almost entirely to the southeastern third of the present state of Louisiana, however.

On November 3, 1762, Louisiana was ceded to Spain. At the same time Great Britain acquired the rights to all of the original claim lying east of the Mississippi River. Details of the transaction were kept secret until 1764 and no Spanish governor was provided until 1766. When the United States gained independence in 1783, the new nation acquired that part of the original claim then

held by Great Britain except for a strip along the gulf coast south of latitude 31°, which was ceded back to Spain; this area was called West Florida, and extended from the River of Palms, south of the present site of Tampa, westward to the Mississippi River. In 1800 Spain retroceded to France all of the colony of Louisiana, except for West Florida, by the secret Treaty of San Ildefonso. Terms of this treaty were not made known until just before the famous Louisiana Purchase of 1803, by which the United States acquired the colony of Louisiana. After the West Florida Rebellion of 1810 that part of West Florida between the Mississippi and Perdido Rivers was added, later to be divided among the states of Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana. Subsequent boundary settlements established the northern boundary of the state of Louisiana at 33° north latitude and extended its western border to the Sabine River. Statehood was granted in 1812.¹

¹Most of the information in this paragraph and the one preceding it can be found in concise form in Frank Bond, *Historical Sketch of "Louisiana" and the Louisiana Purchase* (Washington, 1912). See also Binger Hermann, *The Louisiana Purchase and Our Title West of the Rocky Mountains* (Washington, 1900). Detailed accounts may be found by checking under relevant dates in Alcée Fortier, *A History of Louisiana* (New York, 1904), and other standard histories. A good general view is presented in Edwin A. Davis, *Louisiana the Pelican State* (Baton Rouge, 1959). For details relating to West Florida, see especially Frederick William Williamson and George T. Goodman, *Eastern Louisiana: A History of the Watershed of the Ouachita River and the Florida Parishes*, eds. Frederick William Williamson and George T. Goodman (Louisville, Ky., Historical Record Association, n. d.).

The present borders of the state, then, enclose only a fraction of LaSalle's original claim, and only a slightly larger fraction of the American Louisiana Purchase. But the original areas of heavy French settlement are all within the state, together with some very old English-speaking settlements and large expanses of land that were settled in the general westward migration of Americans from the thirteen original colonies. Furthermore, the metropolis of New Orleans has always attracted more immigrants from foreign countries than any other city in the South, and the southern, predominantly French part of the state generally has been hospitable to European immigrants. Before tracing the settlement history and cultural contributions of each immigrant group, it would be well to define some of the terms that are applied to them.

Louisiana's French-speaking population is from two chief sources: Colonists direct from France, and Acadian refugees from British persecution in Nova Scotia. There is some confusion over these two elements even in Louisiana and to some extent there has been a fusion of the two. But in general, the colonists from France came to the colony with the hope of advancing themselves either as planters or as merchants. Many of the planters were *cadets*—younger sons of prominent French families—who established large riverfront plantations worked by great numbers of slaves. They attempted to maintain the same elegant mode of life in America as in France, and to a large extent they succeeded after the lean initial years of the

colony's establishment were passed. Louisiana's merchants were largely drawn from the merchant class of France; most of them lived in New Orleans, which became the trade and cultural center of the colony not long after it was founded in 1718 and has remained so from that time forward. The merchants sent their sons to school not only to learn the mercantile skills of writing and ciphering, but to give them a little polish; most of the merchants hoped to acquire land and become planters, but, failing that, they hoped at least that their sons would do so.

Descendants of any of these French immigrants are called *Creoles*, a term that is properly applied to the later Spanish colonists as well. In popular usage *Creole* also means a person of mixed blood descended from Latin colonists and Negro slaves, and outside French Louisiana the word is applied loosely to anything frenchified in the southern part of the state. In this study, however, the word will be reserved for white descendants of French and Spanish colonists, since that is the definition preferred by historians, museum guides, newspaper editors, and others who pretend to some learning. Where distinctions are appropriate, the terms *French Creole* and *Spanish Creole* and *Creole Negro* may be used.

The term *Acadian*, the colloquial or derisive form of which is *Cajun*, will be reserved for those colonists who settled first in what was then called Acadia but is now called Nova Scotia. They fled to Louisiana after being driven out of Canada by the British. The

adjective *French* will apply loosely to both Acadians and French Creoles when distinctions between the two are unimportant, as in *French Louisiana*, which includes all the areas where the French language and French customs were predominant, whether most of the settlers came from France, the French West Indies, or Nova Scotia. The term *Anglo* as used in this study will apply to English-speaking groups and the cultural features associated with them, whether they originated in Ireland, England, the English colonies, or the United States. Each of these groups has added something to the character of Louisiana's population; the settlement history of each group, together with some account of the way of life they followed in the colony, will be discussed in turn, beginning with the earliest.

Frenchmen began to arrive in Louisiana at the time of the first settlements at Biloxi and Mobile in 1699. They found the land already occupied, though somewhat sparsely, by tribes of Indians. There were about twenty separate tribes, but only six distinct linguistic groups. The boundaries of their respective territories cannot be traced with precision, but in general the Chitimachas inhabited the gulf coastal region from fifty miles west of the mouth of the Mississippi to Vermilion Bay. The Atakapas lived west of there along the coast into what is now Texas. The Caddos occupied northwestern Louisiana, eastern Texas, and southeastern Arkansas. The Tunicas lived on both sides of the Mississippi above the mouth of the Yazoo River. Most of the Siouian tribes lived to the north,

outside the limits of French settlement, but there were isolated groups of them at Biloxi and near the Tunicas. The territory of the Musk-hogean included land on both sides of the Mississippi from its mouth up to the junction of the Yazoo River and extended eastward to the Carolinas.¹

The Indian tribes have left no linguistic descendants and very few genetic ones. During the settlement of Louisiana by people of European descent, the tribes were either exterminated or transported to the Indian Territory. Those individuals who remained intermarried with people of other races, so that two groups of mixed lineage, Redbones and Sabines, constitute the lineal descendants of Louisiana's original inhabitants. Sabines seem to be mostly Negro and Indian with some trace of Caucasian blood; Redbones are thought to represent a more nearly even mixture of the three races.² None of the Indian languages are spoken any longer in Louisiana, and though they have contributed hundreds of place names and a few loan words to the state's vocabulary, they have had no discernible effect on its phonology.

The French and Acadians, on the other hand, established their language as the official one for the territory, maintained its use even after the colony was taken over first by Spain and then by the

¹Paul A. Kunkel, "The Indians of Louisiana, About 1700—Their Customs and Manner of Living," *The Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, 34 (1951), 176.

²Thomas Lynn Smith and Homer L. Hitt, *The People of Louisiana* (Baton Rouge, 1952), p. 45.

United States, and have influenced the English of Southern Louisiana to such an extent that it is considered a separate dialect. Their history is long and complex.

For the first dozen years or so, colonization of the new territory was carried out under the direct supervision of the French Government. Then, in 1712, Antoine Crozat was granted a commercial franchise over the entire colony, with the responsibility for its development and the right to its wealth. At that time, the population, including 100 French and 75 Canadian soldiers, 28 families of colonists, 20 Negroes, and sundry officials and clerics, was about 400.¹ The difficulty of recruiting more colonists of suitable temperament and training was one of the factors which caused Crozat to fail to turn a profit. The very early immigrations included a high percentage of soldiers and adventurers, an insufficient number of farmers, and a very low percentage of women. In order to bring about a more favorable balance between the sexes, the French Government sent a number of recruits from the brothels of Paris, together with ladies guilty of petty thefts and other misdemeanors. In fact, one historian declares that "of the 1,215 women who had come to Louisiana from October, 1717, to May, 1721, most of them were nothing, alas! but 'fallen women' or little better. . . ."²

¹Charles Gayarré, *Histoire de la Louisiane* (New Orleans, 1846), I, 96.

²Translated from Emile Lauvrière, *Histoire de la Louisiane Française, 1673-1939* (Baton Rouge, 1940), p. 210.

The practice of recruiting miscreants was seen to be unhealthful for the colony, however, and disappointing to the male colonists, who in many cases preferred to go on consorting with the Indians. A happier, if partial, solution to the problem was the importation of a group of orphan girls, each provided with a small casket containing clothes and personal items, who were entrusted to the care of the Ursuline Nuns in New Orleans until such time as they were married. These ninety-eight *filles de la cassette* were commonly accounted to be of unimpeachable virtue, and must have been fabulously prolific, for descendants of these girls have spread all over southern Louisiana, whereas it is practically impossible to find anyone who traces his ancestry back to one of the much more numerous *filles perdues*.

The heart of early French settlement is New Orleans, but the French spread, mostly along rivers and bayous, over a considerable portion of that part of the original colony which has become the state of Louisiana. They established plantations along both sides of the Mississippi from the first solid land upstream from Manchac, on the east bank west of Lake Pontchartrain. From there the river was largely unsettled until the vicinity of Pointe Coupée, on the west side of the river above Baton Rouge. Many traveled up the Red River past Natchitoches as far as what is now the southern part of DeSoto Parish. They spread, somewhat thinly, up the Black and Ouachita Rivers toward the present Arkansas line. In much greater concentrations,

they spread south from New Orleans along the bayous running away from the Mississippi on their independent routes to the gulf; the two main routes were the Atchafalaya and the LaFourche. And spreading westward from there, some crossed the Atchafalaya basin to the upper reaches of the Tèche, around St. Martinville. Immigrants from France outnumbered all others during the French domination—that is, until 1766—and they continued to come in during the Spanish period. The Spanish were liberal in their immigration quotas, and admitted large numbers of Acadians and English-speaking immigrants as well as Spanish settlers, along with colonists from France and the French Caribbean colonies. After the United States took possession in 1803, immigrants from France came in fewer numbers than from other colonies.

In the northern parts of their area of settlement, the Creole culture which the French established has been overwhelmed by the Anglo; in the western parts it has blended with the Acadian; and even south and east of New Orleans, where it was once dominant, the tradition of French literacy and culture once so proudly maintained has died out. Some idea of what the Creole culture was like in its prime may be gained from a description made by the Spanish official Don Francisco Bouligny to his government in 1776:

After the first ten leagues from the mouth of the river, the lands on both sides are cultivated, and the concessions are generally from 500 to 600 yards front, by 2400 yards in depth. The planters generally cultivate their land only 600 or 800 yards from the river, leaving the rest for pasture, and contenting themselves with cutting the wood that abounds in the rear.¹

¹Fortier, II, 27.

And later in the report, after speaking of the robustness, skill in agriculture, and extreme courtliness of Creoles in general, Don Francisco goes on to say:

The greater number of the planters who live in the vicinity of New Orleans are the most refined people in this country. Many of them were officers during the French domination, and some are decorated with the cross of St. Louis; the others are merchants also, who, having earned a certain wealth, have invested it in Negroes and a patch of ground. . . . Generally, the people prefer to live in the country. . . .¹

New Orleans schools taught in almost nothing but French in 1788, and in the country parishes—that is, everywhere except New Orleans and its suburbs—absolutely nothing but French was spoken except in isolated communities inhabited by cohesive groups of immigrants from other European countries, notably Germany and Spain. Even so, most of them learned French in order to trade with their Creole and Acadian neighbors.

The second group of French-speaking immigrants, the Acadians, began to arrive in appreciable numbers about 1764. Originally, most of them seem to have come from Normandy and Brittany. They left there in the early days of the French colonization of Canada, beginning with the colony of New France in 1603, and settled in what is now Nova Scotia, which the French colonists called *Acadie*. After the British took possession of Canada they found the presence there of French-speaking Catholics objectionable. British officials called

¹Fortier, II, 34.

meetings of Acadian heads of families at Grand Pré and at Ft. Edward on September 2, 1755, confiscated their arms, and arrested them. Then they began a policy of expulsion.¹ It seemed to make little difference to the British where the exiles went, and they seem to have made positive efforts to disrupt communal and personal ties among them. Not only were lovers separated, as in Longfellow's "Evangeline," but families too were split apart, some never to be rejoined. Some of them went to the New England colonies and further south, where they fared a little better than in Canada and eventually were absorbed into the population of what was to become the eastern United States. Some returned to France, others went to the Caribbean. But a sizable number made their way to Louisiana, where their own language was spoken and their own religion practiced. Although by the time they began to arrive in peak numbers, Louisiana was a Spanish colony, they were welcomed and given land; they settled on it, flourished, and became one of the strongest cultural influences in the French part of the state.

Since most of the land near New Orleans was already taken, the Acadian grants were mostly north and westward from the settled Orleans district. In February, 1765, a boatload of 193 who arrived in New Orleans from temporary refuge in Santo Domingo were sent to the Opelousas district. In May of the same year 80 were sent to the

¹Corinne L. Saucier, "A Historical Sketch of the Acadians," *Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, 34 (1951), 72-73.

Attakapas district, which had St. Martinville, on the upper Tèche, as its defense outpost. In the same month, 48 families were given lands in both districts. More than a year later, 216 Acadians who had been residing in Halifax were granted land on both sides of the Mississippi as far north as Baton Rouge and Pointe Coupée.¹ According to a 1787 census, the population of Acadians had reached 1,587 in a little less than 25 years.² These first settlements set the pattern for allocation of land to the Acadians; the Attakapas and Opelousas districts were the centers where they settled first and the regions from which they and their descendants migrated when the land became crowded. Often, too, planters and speculators persuaded them to sell their river- and bayou-front homesteads, which then became parts of large-scale cane and cotton holdings. Thus shunted to less desirable swamp and marshland, the "Cajuns" learned to extract what they needed from the wilderness, and became trappers and fishermen. They were the ones who exalted the lowly crawfish, or "mudbug," as it is often called, from its early status as emergency protein to a favored delicacy. They were the inventors of gumbo, a soup that may be made from almost anything and usually includes almost everything. They were

thrifty, hardy, fun-loving people who were devoutly religious, worked, played and made love with equal enthusiasm. They named their offspring with complete abandon, using pseudo-Grecian names and sometimes giving children in one family

¹Fortier, I, 153.

²Fortier, II, 115-116.

names all beginning with the same letter. Love of the race and the family were deep-rooted in the Acadians, as evidenced by their great respect for relatives and long periods of mourning for the dead. With few exceptions, they belonged to the Roman Catholic religion; yet had faith in crop signs, weather signs, and folk remedies. Their use of English was amusing and picturesque, a mixture of English and French, a disregard for the correct use of gender of words, and a dialect which was repetitive of certain words for emphasis.¹

A third French linguistic group was important in the early history of Louisiana. It came from three sources: the slaves of the Creoles, which included Negroes imported directly from Africa, who learned French from their masters in Louisiana; other Negroes imported from Santo Domingo, who already spoke creolized Caribbean French when they came to Louisiana; and descendants of these groups, themselves born in Louisiana. In general, their language was a modified form of French, simpler grammatically and phonologically than the standard language. At present called *Nigger French*, it can still be heard in St. Martin Parish and no doubt in other locations in French Louisiana as well. A great many folk beliefs characteristic of French Louisiana can be traced to this group of immigrants. The practice of voodoo especially, which reached its highest development in the West Indies, owes its existence in Louisiana today to the Santo Domingan slaves who brought it there.²

African languages have contributed some loan words to the Louisiana vocabulary, most of them, like *gumbo* and *voodoo*, related to

¹*St. Martin Parish Resources and Facilities*, by the St. Martin Parish Development Board (Baton Rouge, 1950), pp. 8-9.

²Davis, p. 112.

African cultural contributions. African influence on Louisiana English phonology is hard to assess, but is certainly less than in the Gullah dialect of the Georgia and South Carolina coast and may be no greater than that of Indian languages.

Eventually, quite a number of slaves bought their freedom; a few amassed wealth and acquired plantations of their own. They called themselves *Creoles of Color* or *Colored Creoles* and established their own social circle in New Orleans. Some sent their children to France and Spain to be educated. So linguistically and culturally, though never socially, the Negro population of French Louisiana merged with the white toward the upper ends of their respective social scales.

With the combined weight of Creole and Acadian settlements, the French language was so firmly entrenched that the Spanish, when they took over the government, never succeeded in introducing their language except in courts of justice, and, even so, French was still used in municipal courts. Finally, after more than a century and a half of American statehood, English has taken root in all parts of Louisiana, but for many years English-speaking and French-speaking groups remained aloof from each other. The Creoles were prompted by aristocratic bias and a firm Gallic conviction that nothing which is not French is quite civilized, the Acadians simply by the fact that they outnumbered everybody else in most areas where they settled and had no need until recent years to learn any other language. In fact, Irish and German settlers after a couple of generations in the

Attakapas and Opelousas districts often gallicized their names, forgot their native tongues, and even claimed Acadian descent.

But perhaps it is unfair to accuse the Creoles of disdaining the company of new arrivals purely from aristocratic bias. There is some evidence that they were no more snobbish than their American counterparts. John F. Watson, who arrived in New Orleans on May 26, 1804, writes in his diary: "Ladies in this country never visit strangers first. All expect to be visited by the ladies newly arrived. Our ladies will not yield to this seemingly awkward position, and therefore they pass without native society."¹ Further on, he notes: "The French, Spanish, and Americans here keep very separate society. The Americans congregate much together, and the French, except in business, keep much aloof; but I enter into society freely among them, and find them very friendly and agreeable."²

The twentieth-century Louisiana French are still very friendly and agreeable, and much less aloof than those of the nineteenth century. Even so, the fusion of English and French elements of the population has been slow. The Creole French were socially a distinct group until after 1900, and the assimilation of the Acadians has been even slower. In 1933, when transportation by road and automobile was just beginning to supersede transportation by bayou and boat in southern Louisiana, the Acadian inhabitants of the state could be divided into three groups.

¹Fortier, III, 27.

²Fortier, III, 31.

Those who lived in small towns came into frequent contact with English-speaking Americans. Consequently most of them could speak some English, and an educated minority were fairly well Americanized. A second group engaged in tenant farming on large plantations. Most of them necessarily spoke some English, but were generally less well acculturated to prevailing American language and customs than their fellows in town. The third group lived along bayous and in swamps and made their living from little garden plots and from trapping, hunting, and fishing. They commonly spoke little or no English and were isolated from English-speakers most of the time.¹ Their language was both a cause and a result of their social isolation. It is incomprehensible to English-speakers and different enough from Creole French to make communication difficult. There was little pressure to overcome the language barrier because the backwoods Acadians, often called "levee-dwellers," were self-sufficient for meat and vegetables and traded their fish and furs to French-speaking local merchants.²

In the thirty-five years between 1933 and 1968, a number of important changes have helped to break down the barriers which kept Acadians isolated. The process had in fact begun earlier; H. W. Gilmore noted that improved road systems and public schools were breaking down language barriers, and that the military draft of World

¹H. W. Gilmore, "Social Isolation of the French Speaking People of Rural Louisiana," *Social Forces*, 12 (October, 1933), 81.

²Gilmore, p. 81.

War I had broken down barriers to social change by intruding upon the Acadians' traditional provincialism.¹ All these influences—highways, schools, and the military—have continued to operate with even greater force since 1933. In addition, the discovery and development of oil, gas, salt, and sulfur reserves has brought increasing numbers of English-speaking newcomers to southern Louisiana. A number of the men who came to work the mineral deposits have been fortunate enough to marry Acadian girls and make Louisiana their permanent home. The combination of increased travel, schooling, and social mixture has tended to make the Acadians more Anglo in culture, outlook, and language. Except for the very most backwoods levee-dwellers, almost all of them speak at least some English, although in some areas English is a second language for nearly all adults. English is gaining rapidly, though, and French is losing ground so fast that it is not uncommon to find grandparents who do not speak English whose grandchildren do not speak French. The English spoken by native French-speakers is often as picturesque as it is commonly reputed to be; their children usually have less of a French accent, but share with their parents certain features of phonology, syntax, and intonation which mark the English of French Louisiana as distinctive.

The area of modern-day French Louisiana is based on cultural rather than genealogical criteria, for as noted above, many people who consider themselves French are really descendants of immigrants

¹Gilmore, p. 84.

from other countries, and many people of French descent have been absorbed into the Protestant culture of northern Louisiana.

Figure 2, which gives the ratios of Catholics to Protestants in the population, by parishes, gives a graphic picture of the area covered by the term *French Louisiana*. Since nearly all the French were Catholics, and since nearly all Anglos (except the Irish, who settled by and large in New Orleans) were Protestant, this map can be considered a map of French Louisiana.

Although the linguistic contribution of the Spanish was comparatively meager, they nonetheless figure importantly in the early history of Louisiana. By the time they took over the government of the colony in 1766, the French were firmly established. Yet Spanish architects became quite popular in New Orleans. Most of the old buildings in the French Quarter—the original city of New Orleans—show the stamp of Spanish influence. The spiciness of Creole cookery is usually attributed to the Spanish, who generally preferred their food more highly seasoned than the French did. While keeping the basic framework of French government, the Spanish made many modifications in the legal system, most tending to liberalize French policies. Some of these modifications found their way into the present legal system of the state, which incorporates a good many holdovers from colonial days. As noted before, however, the Spanish never were able to establish their language in general use. Louisianians came to tolerate and even admire the Spanish government, but

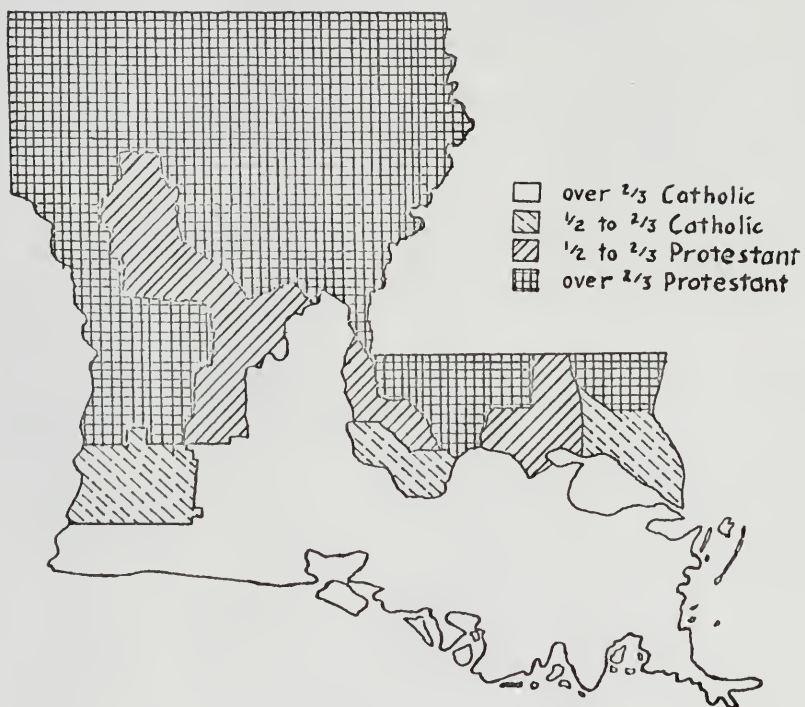


Figure 2. Ratio of Catholics to Protestants.
(Adapted from Smith and Hitt, p. 136.)

they would not speak the language. French became the home language in households with one French and one Spanish parent, so that children seldom learned Spanish.¹ It maintained a tenuous existence only in the courts and among pockets of Spanish settlers in various parts of the colony.

The difficulty of establishing their language was not eased by Spanish immigration quotas—or lack of quotas, really. Anxious to bring the land under cultivation and make it produce, they cared little where settlers were born as long as they worked the land, obeyed the laws, and paid their taxes. It was during the period of Spanish government that most of the Acadian French came to Louisiana, and most of the old Spanish land grants in the northern part of the state were given to people with English names, probably mostly westward migrants from the United States. Yet where substantial Spanish settlements were made, the immigrants were not absorbed into the dominant culture as readily as some other European groups—the Germans, for example. In 1778 and 1779, a number of immigrants were brought to the colony at the king's expense, notably from the Canary Islands, but including people from Malaga and elsewhere. The earliest group settled at Terre-aux-Boeufs, at Galveztown on the River Amite, and at Valenzuela, on Bayou LaFourche.² Some of those who came in 1779 went to the Bayou Tèche below St. Martinville and formed a settlement at

¹Davis, p. 120.

²Fortier, II, 60.

New Iberia. Others swelled the numbers of Galveztown, which has since passed out of existence. These settlers were called *Isleños* or *Islengues*, and most were poor and ignorant, a tradition carried on among their descendants. By the beginning of the twentieth century, when Fortier's history was written, they spoke both Spanish and the Creole patois, and some of the children had begun to learn English. Early in 1968 there were still a few descendants of Spanish settlers who could speak Spanish, but it will not be many years before they are gone, and with them will go Louisiana Spanish. Since it has apparently never been a prestige dialect, even during the Spanish domination, it has contributed few loan words to modern Louisiana English, and has had no appreciable effect on phonology except among members of the Spanish-language enclaves.

The most important linguistic group in Louisiana now, the English-speakers, arrived comparatively late. During the time the French ruled Louisiana, England and France were at odds, and part of the time at war, so of course not many Englishmen settled where the French were in power. Besides, at that time there was plenty of land in the English colonies. That is not to say that Englishmen never went under French rule, or that they had any objections to squatting on territory owned but not patrolled by the French. There were a few British merchants in New Orleans while the French still ruled it, and other British subjects occupied land north of New Orleans, where the French never really succeeded in establishing their authority. An English settlement was made at Manchac, on the east

bank of the Mississippi between Baton Rouge and New Orleans; and Baton Rouge itself, though the name is a French translation of an Indian word, was essentially an English town before France ceded Louisiana to Spain. After the cession, but before Spain took control, Englishmen on their way upriver to one of these posts would often stop just past New Orleans to carry on a surreptitious trade with the citizens, which was tolerated because it was good for the economy.¹

The Spanish, when they took control, were more favorable toward British immigrants. English-speaking merchants began to increase in numbers in New Orleans, so that by 1775 there were enough merchants from New York, Philadelphia, and Boston who sympathized with the eastern colonists' struggle for independence to figure fairly importantly as suppliers of arms and ammunition to the revolutionaries.²

The Spanish Governor Don Estevan Miro was liberal in his treatment of the English; when West Florida, including the present Florida Parishes, was returned to Spain from British rule in 1783, he allowed them extra time to move away, beyond the eighteen months specified by treaty, and in 1786 he allowed them to remain if they took an oath of fidelity.³ It was at this time too that large land grants were given in what is now northern Louisiana, and, as mentioned earlier, most of these grants went to people with English names.

¹Cayarré, II, 127.

²Fortier, II, 18.

³Fortier, II, 112.

Even so, English-speakers made up a small minority of Louisiana's residents before the United States came into possession in 1803. In 1801, a representative of France reported to Bonaparte that almost all of the Louisianians were either born in France or were of French origin.¹ Even after 1803 the increase was fairly slow, and American immigrants did not really begin to arrive in earnest until after statehood was granted and the War of 1812 had been won. Census records taken at the time the United States took possession show most of the population remaining in what is now the French portion of the state. The Washita or Ouachita district contained only 361 persons, Rapides had 753, Baton Rouge had 1,513, and Natchitoches had 1,631. The latter two were about average for the country parishes; yet these four were the only areas listed for the region within the present boundaries of the state that were outside present French Louisiana. They total 4,058 inhabitants compared to 37,955 for the southern wedge of marsh and swamp parishes.² And no doubt a large number of those living even in these fringe areas, especially the districts of Rapides and Natchitoches, were French. Those in the Baton Rouge district, known also as New Feliciana, were mainly descendants of British colonists to that area, or else were direct immigrants from Great Britain or the States.

¹Fortier, II, 208.

²Figures from Fortier, II, 301.

The relatively uninhabited districts in the northern part of the state filled up rapidly after the War of 1812, the tide of migration reaching its high point some twenty years before the onset of the Civil War. According to Fortier, the population north of Red River and west of the Ouachita increased from 2,000 in 1830 to 14,000 in 1845.¹ Almost all of these people were from Louisiana's sister states; it would be impossible to trace all the routes they took or establish all the early family connections between Louisiana and other parts of the country, but certain important trends can be established. For the past 120 years, settlement patterns have been chronicled in detail mainly in scattered regional and parish histories of varying thoroughness and accuracy. It will be best to reserve such of these as are available for background information on the 18 communities included in this study. An adequate overall view— in some ways superior to detailed tracing of individual settlements— has been presented in *The People of Louisiana*, a population study by Thomas Lynn Smith and Homer L. Hitt, referred to on page 12.

Using the 1880 census, when state-of-birth data was provided for residents of each parish, Smith and Hitt give a picture of the flow of migrants from different parts of the country into different parts of Louisiana. 1880 may be somewhat late for application to the initial wave of migration following the War of 1812, but a good many

¹Fortier, III, 177.

people who came between 1830 and the Civil War would have still been alive in 1880 and would show up in the figures. At any rate the figures should serve as fairly accurate indicators of general migration trends. Except for Orleans Parish, which attracted more non-Louisianians than any other, the northern parishes received more immigrants in the years prior to 1880 than did the southern, primarily because more land was available there, but perhaps also because overland access from farther east was easier.

The general trend in the settlement of the American West was for pioneers to move westward in parallel corridors, keeping more or less on an even latitude. Another trend, less commonly recognized, was for migrants to seek out the same type of soil, water, and vegetation in their new homes that they had left behind in their old. Reasons for this were partly sentimental, but partly practical as well, for the farmer who found familiar surroundings could be fairly certain that the crops and farming practices he was accustomed to would produce when he had cleared his new farm and begun to cultivate it.¹ It is to be expected, then, on the basis of latitude, that most of Louisiana's early settlers should have come from Mississippi, Alabama, and Georgia, and on the basis of topography that immigrants from those states should choose areas of Louisiana similar to their home counties. No data is available to confirm

¹Frank Lawrence Owsley, *Plain Folk of the Old South* (Baton Rouge, 1949), pp. 53-54.

the second element of the general trend, but the first part is amply illustrated by the 1880 census data and by the general trend of census studies from 1870 through 1890. Over the entire state, a little less than one fifth of its American-born residents in 1880 were born outside Louisiana. The most important states, in order of number of emigrants to Louisiana, were Mississippi, Alabama, Virginia, Georgia, South Carolina, Texas, Kentucky, North Carolina, and Tennessee.¹

The prominence of Virginia and Kentucky on the list is attributed to their status as producers of slaves. Most natives of those states probably went as slaves to the delta-land Black Belt, where the plantation style of agriculture was practiced. Both states are well represented all along the Mississippi from the Arkansas line to the gulf, and in the cane-growing region south and west of New Orleans. Natives of those two states were also found in the plantation sections of the Florida Parishes. Native Virginians, but not Kentuckians, show up prominently along the Red River Valley. Texas figures so high as a source of newcomers to Louisiana because of its proximity to the western parishes, which contained the bulk of native Texans residing in Louisiana. Most of these migrants moved only a few miles, representing no more than a diffusion within the general westward-moving trend.

¹Smith and Hitt, pp. 207-208.

The other states which contributed a major share of Louisiana's nonnative population in 1880 exhibit this westward trend. Mississippi, directly east of Louisiana and bordering the Florida Parishes on two sides, gave up settlers to its sister state in the same way Texas did to parishes along its state line. However, Mississippians moved west more often than Texans moved east, so that their importance is greater both numerically and proportionately in the eastern parishes than is that of Texas in the west. They make up, on the average, more than half the American immigrants all down the Mississippi Valley to Baton Rouge and in the Florida Parishes. Their numerical contribution is greater than that of citizens from any other state in the southwestern and central portions of Louisiana, including the prairies, the southern half of the western piney woods, the middle Red River Valley, and the southern part of the north-central piney woods. In other portions of the state they are still well represented, but somewhat less so by comparison.

Natives of Alabama settled mostly in the northern parts of Louisiana. They concentrated especially in the northern portion of both stretches of piney woods, but they settled in the river deltas as well. Some drifted into southwestern Louisiana along the western crescent of sandhills and pines. Georgians and South Carolinians concentrated in the northwestern corner of the state. North Carolinians migrated mostly to the south central parishes in a broad band stretching westward from New Orleans and curving northwards,

reaching as far as Rapides Parish, which lies along the middle stretch of the Red River Valley. Tennesseans were not among the five most important groups of immigrants to any one parish, although they were among the top nine in the state as a whole.

All parts of Louisiana, then, received new settlers during the American period of development from a variety of other states, but the mixture varied from region to region. The Black Belt was favored by planters from the coastal South, who brought in so many slaves from Virginia, Kentucky, and elsewhere that in most parts of the Mississippi and Red River Valleys Negroes still outnumber whites. Piney woods areas were settled by former residents of the inland South and of the coastal South in varying proportions. The marsh and prairie lands of southern Louisiana were already inhabited by French-speaking people when America purchased the colony; therefore immigration was lighter after 1803 in those areas than in other parts of the state. For some unknown reason, settlers from North Carolina were relatively more numerous in French Louisiana than in northern Louisiana.

English, the language spoken by these migrants from other American states, has become the standard legal and commercial language all over Louisiana. In much of northern Louisiana, no other language ever competed with it, so that inhabitants of those areas, except, of course, the departed Indians, have always been native English-speakers. Along the borders of original French settlement,

in Natchitoches and Rapides Parishes, for example, the use of French was abandoned so long ago by all except a handful of families that English has been practically the only language used for more than a century. The relative position of French and English in French Louisiana has already been discussed.

In addition to Americans who moved to Louisiana after statehood, foreign immigrants entering the port of New Orleans have settled in many parts of Louisiana, most frequently in New Orleans itself. Besides the Germans who settled the German Coast above New Orleans while it still belonged to France, many of their countrymen have come since it became American to find homes and establish well-kept farms or practice trades. Most of them have not retained their national language past the first generation in America. The same can be said for the Italians, who settled by and large in New Orleans and other coastal cities. A number of Scandinavians pioneered along the Ouachita River during the Spanish period, and later groups moved in to parishes along the gulf coast. Irish immigrants flocked to America in the mid-nineteenth century, and New Orleans received its share; from 1850 to 1860 they outnumbered all other European groups entering the port of New Orleans.¹

The chief effect of these diverse groups of European immigrants has been to give to present-day southern Louisiana an

¹*Gumbo Ya-Ya*, by The Writers' Project, Louisiana (Cambridge, Mass., 1945), pp. 51-52.

overall cosmopolitan character, with typically American and typically foreign cultural features existing side by side with those unique to the state itself. In most areas their direct effect on English speech has not been great, compared to that of French, but it would be a mistake to assume that they have had no effect at all. In certain parts of New Orleans, especially, the melding of foreign accents seems to have produced a dialect distinct from that of the predominantly French or predominantly Anglo parts of the state.

A brief review of the sources of Louisiana's population suggests certain predictions concerning the English spoken there. None of the American states from which people moved into Louisiana in greatest numbers lies any farther north than Virginia and Kentucky; over all this region, the English spoken is classified as either Southern or Midland. People in the eastern sections of Virginia and the Carolinas speak the variety called Southern. People in Kentucky, Tennessee, northern Georgia, northern Alabama, and the western parts of Virginia and the Carolinas speak the kind of English called Midland. Most of these areas use the subvariety usually thought of as characteristic of the Southern hill country, called South Midland.¹ Speech patterns in Mississippi and the rest of Georgia and Alabama are somewhat more complex. Apparently, the prevailing regional variety there was originally Southern. Later on, speakers of South

¹Hans Kurath, *A Word Geography of the Eastern United States* (Ann Arbor, 1949), pp. 11-49.

Midland moved southwards along watercourses and other avenues of travel, introducing their speech forms wherever they made up a substantial part of the population. As a result, Southern and South Midland speech forms occur side by side in varying relative frequencies in corridors across central Georgia and along the Tombigbee River in Alabama and Mississippi.¹ The date of these secondary migrations is not precisely known; they probably occurred over a period of time before and during the peak of American migration into Louisiana in the 1830s and 40s. We can reasonably expect, then, that the English speech of Louisiana should include a mixture of forms and features characteristic of Southern and South Midland regional varieties, with very little influence from Northern or North Midland American English. We should expect, furthermore, that South Midland characteristics should be better represented in the piney woods than in the river-bottom plantation regions and, conversely, that Southern features should be proportionately more frequent in plantation areas. It is also reasonable to expect that the English spoken in the predominantly French Parishes in the southern part of the state should have been considerably modified by its intimate contact with French. As has been shown by previous research discussed in the remainder of this chapter, most, but not all, of these predictions turn out to be true in regard to the word stock.

¹Gordon R. Wood, "Dialect Contours in the Southern States," *American Speech*, 38 (1963), 243-256.

It is the aim of this study to find out whether or not they hold true in regard to the phonology.

Gordon R. Wood found that dialect patterns west of the Mississippi are fundamentally different from those in the Southeast.¹ Isoglosses west of the river reveal, instead of corridors, irregular patches with varying mixtures of Southern and South Midland terms. No evidence was found that a once uniform speech region has been penetrated by newcomers bringing a new word stock; rather, it appears that alternate terms for the same things existed side by side from the days of earliest settlement and that usage has not yet become stabilized. Wood's study deals only peripherally with Louisiana, but the tendencies he outlines are confirmed for the northern part of the state by two related word studies.

First, the area investigated by E. Bagby Atwood's *The Regional Vocabulary of Texas*² included much of Louisiana. Summarizing isoglosses are provided for approximately the western two thirds of the state.³ Aside from a fairly heavy bundle of isoglosses dividing

¹In addition to the *American Speech* article cited above, findings from his study have been published in "An Atlas Survey of the Interior South," *Orbis: Bulletin international de Documentation linguistique*, 9 (1960), 7-12, and in "Word Distribution in the Interior South," *Publication of the American Dialect Society*, No. 35 (April, 1961), pp. 1-16.

²Austin, 1962.

³See especially the map on p. 97 of Atwood's book; maps 119-125, pp. 249-255, delimiting the extent of individual words, are also relevant.

French from Anglo Louisiana, which will be discussed separately, isoglosses for the area investigated demonstrate an irregular pattern of distribution. Some lines tend to separate Texas from Louisiana, except for Beauregard and Vernon Parishes. Others tend to separate Texas and southern Arkansas from Louisiana; both tendencies are fairly weak. Within the northern part of Louisiana itself, dividing lines are weaker still. A few irregular patches occur where one or another combination of regional words prevails, but except for a bundle representing 6 or 7 lines between Lincoln and Natchitoches Parishes, the prediction that dialect differences should appear between piney woods and river bottom areas is not confirmed. No correspondence between dialect and topography comparable to the corridor of Midland admixture along the Tombigbee River was discovered.

In a more intensive study of 26 parishes in northern Louisiana, Mary Lucile Pierce Folk,¹ using substantially the same questionnaire that Atwood used for Texas, could not find evidence for even such hazy isoglosses as the Texas study was able to demonstrate. She found that age, education, and community size were more important than geography in determining the form which occurs in the speech of a particular informant. The best way to describe the speech of the region she investigated is simply to say that some Southern and some Midland words are in general use, but that in many or most cases

¹"A Word Atlas of North Louisiana," Dissertation, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, 1961.

usage is divided, without any strong regional differences in frequency. Southern words that predominate are *mosquito hawk*, *clabber*, *light bread*, *chittlins*, *see-saw*, *rail fence*, and the calls to horses to make them stop or go.¹ South Midland words in general use are *armload*, *sook cow*, *so cow*, *whinny*, *cling peach*, *side meat*, *coal bucket*, *scuttle*, *faucet*, *kindling*, *till* (in expression of time), *dove* (preterit of dive), and *clumb*.² The entire list of words of divided usage is too long to reproduce here; some examples, with the South Midland word given first, are: *tow sack*—*croker sack*, *freestone*—*clear seed*, *skunk*—*pole cat*, and *Merry Christmas*—*Christmas gift*.³ Though matters of pronunciation were secondary to the lexicon in her study, Folk did report that pronunciation in northern Louisiana generally exhibits more South Midland features than Southern.⁴ Phonological differences between hill and lowland sections were only slightly more evident than lexical ones, but a slight preponderance of the Southern loss of postvocalic /r/ in the plantation parishes along the Mississippi was demonstrated.⁵ One important limitation of Folk's study should be pointed out; no

¹Folk, p. 276.

²Folk, p. 276.

³Folk, p. 277.

⁴Folk, p. 278.

⁵Folk, p. 54.

Negro informants were included. If Negroes had served as informants in proportion to their percentage of the population, it is likely that a somewhat greater number of Southern features would have been found in the Black Belt. Even if such a distinction could be demonstrated, the differences would be small compared to the differences between the northern and southern parts of Louisiana.

Differences between north and south Louisiana were not shown in Folk's study; her investigation reached no further south than the 31st parallel, which forms the northern boundary of the Florida Parishes. (See Figure 3.) As noted before, however, Atwood's study of Texas dialects lapped over into western Louisiana. Furthermore, an investigation conducted by Mima Babington, one of his students, provides information for six parishes in the Bayou Lafourche area, originally settled and still largely populated by Acadians. Orleans Parish was included as well in order to provide a control sample from an area originally peopled by Creole French.

In the article based on that study,¹ it is shown that southern Louisiana is essentially a separate dialect area from the rest of the South. Compared to Texas, Arkansas, and northern Louisiana, regional terms from other parts of the country are infrequent. In southern Louisiana the bookish *harmonica*, *corn on*

¹Mima Babington and E. Bagby Atwood, "Lexical Usage in Southern Louisiana," *Publication of the American Dialect Society*, No. 36 (November 1961), pp. 1-24.



Figure 3. Previous dialect studies in Louisiana. A. Area investigated by Mary Lucile Pierce Folk. B. Area investigated by Mima Babington and E. Bagby Atwood. C. Isogloss bundle after E. Bagby Atwood, *The Regional Vocabulary of Texas*, p. 97.

the cob, *parents*, and *toad* are used three times as often as in Texas, where the usual words are *French harp*, *roasting ears*, *folks*, and *toad-frog* (p. 10). More to the point, a number of terms distinctive to the area were found, along with some others that have spread into surrounding regions from there. Some of the words that are fairly well limited to French Louisiana are *kiyoodle* / káijùd! / (worthless dog), *get down* (get out or off a bus or car), *boudin* / búdž / (a kind of sausage), and *gris-gris* / grígrì / (hoodoo charm). Southern Louisiana words found in bands of varying widths around the wedge of French parishes are *pirogue* / píró ~ píróg / (small boat), *banquette* / báŋkit / (sidewalk), *armoire* / ármwàr ~ ámə / (large article of furniture also called a wardrobe), and *bayou*, / bàijú ~ báíò ~ báíə / (small, sluggish stream). At least one Louisiana word, *gumbo* (soup containing okra), has gained national currency.¹

The evidence demonstrates convincingly enough that southern Louisiana constitutes a separate speech region, but the area covered in the study is not large enough to indicate its boundaries. A heavy S-shaped line drawn by Atwood from southwestern to central Louisiana (see Figure 3) can reasonably be considered the western part of the boundary. It represents a bundle of eight or more isoglosses revealed by Atwood's Texas questionnaire. Babington's

¹Examples selected from Babington and Atwood, pp. 11-12.

questionnaire, designed to elicit a number of additional items distinctive to the region, would no doubt thicken the bundles, though it might diffuse them as well. The location of the boundary as it extends eastwards from Rapides Parish can only be conjectured. Since, however, the part that is known corresponds closely to the boundary between Protestant, or Anglo, and Catholic, or French Louisiana, the best conjecture is that it continues to correspond, extending south-eastwards through New Orleans to the Gulf of Mexico (cf. Figure 21).

Consideration of settlement patterns leads to the supposition that the speech of the Florida Parishes is probably more like that of neighboring Mississippi, which is chiefly Southern,¹ than that of northern Louisiana. Actually, lexical field work done in connection with the recordings for the present study indicates a strong admixture of Midland forms there, too, especially around Hammond, in Tangipahoa Parish.

The single most important fact about Louisiana's English speech can be expressed by Gordon R. Wood's observation concerning the interior South in general: dialectal patterns have not become stabilized. In southern Louisiana, French is clearly receding; as it does, it modifies the English that replaces it. Bilingual parents pass on some of their English errors to their monolingual children. Then in communities where those errors become general they cease to be errors, changing instead into dialectal characteristics. In those parts of the state

¹Wood, "Dialect Contours," pp. 251-252.

where English has been the only language in common use since pioneer times, forms from two varieties of American English still exist side by side not just in the speech of communities but of families and individuals. It was not uncommon during field work for this study to find second or third generation neighbors who differed markedly in the treatment of postvocalic /r/, for example, or in the allophones of /æ/ before bilabial fricatives and nasals plus consonants. Sometimes such differences were found in families in which husband and wife used different patterns, as in Catahoula and Rapides Parishes. Informants often gave multiple responses demonstrating at least a recognition knowledge of words characteristic of both Southern and South Midland vocabularies, and not infrequently they used the terms interchangeably with little or no differentiation of meaning. The fact that such examples of divided usage are more common in Louisiana than in the coastal states where American dialect study began must be kept in mind throughout the remainder of this study.

CHAPTER II

COMMUNITIES AND INFORMANTS

The communities and informants for this study were selected to provide representative samples of local and regional native English usage for the *Dictionary of American Regional English*, abbreviated *DARE*. Eighteen communities were chosen to represent Louisiana out of one thousand allotted to cover the entire United States. Ideally, it would have been desirable to use only one informant in each community, since only one questionnaire was done in each, but very often two or three or more had to be located in order to obtain all the data sought in a reasonable length of time. To assure the validity of the data certain criteria for the choice of communities and informants were set up. These criteria will be explained before communities and informants are discussed individually.

The number of communities chosen in each state was proportionate to an adjusted population figure for the state. An example was given in the orientation and instructional material given to fieldworkers:

For example, in Florida, using 1910 population figures, we would allot only 8 informants; using 1964 figures we would have to allot 27, since the population has been almost septupled during this period. Actually we will compromise on 19 informants. In Mississippi, on the other hand, where population has decreased

relatively during this period, on 1910 figures we would have had to allot 19 informants, by 1964 figures only 12; actually we will compromise on 15. By this device we seek to take account of the conservative part of the population as being relatively less mixed, more stable, hence in speech expectably more traditional.¹

The number of communities to represent Louisiana is based on the fact that its population of 3,257,022 is near the average for the nation; no adjustment was required, since the rate of population growth for the state has been close to that for the nation as a whole. The communities were chosen by Dr. F. G. Cassidy, Jr., director of the project, and Mrs. C. A. Mohr, historian on the DARE staff, who also furnished fieldworkers with a few paragraphs of background material on each community. In general, the aim was to pick old, stable communities that would be representative, socially, economically, and linguistically, of the general area of the state in which they were situated. Old communities are usually along early migration routes, or are themselves centers which immigrants have come to and gradually moved away from, spreading their influence, linguistic and otherwise, to areas surrounding them. An old, stable community, without a history of rapid turnover of population, is likely to contain at least some descendants of its first settlers and provide the best hunting ground for informants who fitted DARE requirements.

The ratio of urban and rural communities for the study is based on the ratio of urban and rural inhabitants, according to the

¹"On the Choice of Communities and Informants for D.A.R.E." (mimeographed sheet, n.d.).

1964 United States Statistical Abstracts. There, the definition of *urban* is very broad, including communities of 2,500 and more. Since 63.3% of the residents of Louisiana were urban by this definition, ten urban and eight rural communities were chosen. In choosing informants to represent those communities, it was not considered necessary to confine the search to persons actually residing within the political boundaries of the named village or town. As Professor Cassidy explained:

Community, in our sense, does not, of course, correspond to corporate limit of a town or other governmental unit. If a man lives higher up the road but still trades at the village and goes to the village church, he belongs to that community linguistically (assuming he is a native). One cannot even be sticky about this unless one knows that there are two communities living near-by which consider themselves distinct from each other. For example; Cajuns and non-Cajuns.¹

Actually, for various reasons, it was sometimes necessary to find informants in other communities than the ones designated and described. For example, there was no one available in the community of Vienna who was suitable as an informant. An informant was chosen from one of Vienna's earliest families even though she considered near-by Dubach her home town, and was residing at the time of her interview in a rest home in Ruston. But both Ruston and Dubach were settled largely from the focal center of Vienna, and traditional mobility among the three communities tended to level any differences which might otherwise have arisen. All three remained effectively in one speech community. In another instance, a couple who had lived all

¹From a letter to the author, November 14, 1967.

their lives in one community had recently retired and moved to another. They had not moved far, and in any case had not lived away from their original home long enough to affect their speech significantly. Since they had ample time and were willing to serve as informants, they were chosen as representative of their home community. In such cases, the community originally chosen rather than the one in which the informant resided is the one described in the background material.

In one case, however, a community was eliminated and another substituted. Since there are several speech patterns within the city of New Orleans, Professor Cassidy suggested that it might well be advantageous to eliminate one other urban community and use the questionnaire thus saved as a second New Orleans questionnaire. On the advice of Professors Claude Shaver, of the Department of Speech at Louisiana State University, and W. R. Van Riper, of the Department of English, Buras, on the Mississippi downstream from New Orleans, was dropped, and the Irish Channel, a section of New Orleans, was added.

Just as an attempt was made to choose communities which would be truly representative of different regions within the state, an attempt was made to find informants truly representative of their communities. That meant at the very least someone born in the community who had not lived anywhere else except for brief periods. Residents whose parents and grandparents were born in the same place were preferred, but in some recently settled areas families had

simply not been there long enough for such people to be available. In Louisiana this was particularly true in the north central hill parishes and in the western piney woods. In addition to the primary matter of family background, other factors were considered in choosing informants:

Informants are chosen according to generation, educational and social status, and occupation. The generations are: young adult, to 39 years; middle-aged, 40—59; old, 60 up. We plan to have 50% or more of the old, 40% or less of the middle, and no more than 10% of the young generation. Broadly following Linguistic Atlas practice, our informants will be of three types: I—those of no more than primary school education; II—those of no more than high school education, though sometimes with more travel, reading, or the like than those of group I; and III—those with some higher education and usually an upper position in the community.¹

Therefore, out of Louisiana's 18 questionnaires, 10 were to be answered by old, 7 by middle-aged, and 1 by young informants. In actual practice, the final and unalterable governing factor in the choice of informants was the availability of suitable candidates. In all too many instances it was not possible to pick and choose in any one community among a group of authentic local residents at various age levels and social strata who were willing to devote enough of their time to complete a questionnaire. The DARE questionnaire, designed to elicit as many vocabulary items as possible, was 325 pages long and required about a week to complete, on the average, assuming that the informant or informants had a fair amount of free time. It is not at all surprising that quite a number of prospective informants declined to commence such an undertaking. The surprising thing is that so many

¹"On the Choice of Communities and Informants for D.A.R.E."

were willing not only to commence, but to continue to the end. If there did happen to be more than one to choose from, it was often thought more important to choose the one who appeared to be able to furnish the greatest amount of information without regard to his age or educational level. In general, however, when it was necessary to use more than one informant on a single questionnaire, an attempt was made to have them all at the same age and social level unless a particular advantage could be gained by seeking someone of a different type. Also, since lexical items were the chief object of the search, certain minor speech irregularities, such as indistinct formation of dental and alveolar consonants caused by the lack of teeth, were tolerated although they were undesirable.

Once a suitable willing informant had been found, the major part of the interview was carried out with the questionnaire, with the field worker reading the questions and recording on it the informant's answers either by circling a word or expression already on the page or writing it in. For many words, a phonetic transcription was also written in. Toward the last questionnaire session with each major informant, commonly on the last day of the interview, a tape recording was made, consisting of about twenty or thirty minutes of free conversation followed by a reading of "Arthur the Rat," a brief story designed to bring out certain features of pronunciation important to American dialectology. The main purpose of the tapes was to obtain recordings of natural, connected speech from which phonological and syntactic data could be obtained. The first requirement

was to get the informant to talk naturally and easily, with as little self-consciousness as possible concerning his manner of speech. Before recording began, therefore, the informant's attention was usually directed to a topic he was familiar with and liked to talk about. The historical and cultural value of the recording was emphasized. Phonological and lexical usefulness was not hidden from the informant, but was described as being secondary to that of the questionnaire. The tapes were often mentioned as a means by which the home office could check on the field worker's accuracy.

Mike fright is hard to avoid, however, when a person is unaccustomed to speaking in front of a microphone. Commonly, the speech recorded on tape is of a somewhat more formal variety than casual conversation. At times the field worker's contribution is excessive as he tries to support a faltering conversation. At other times the recording is simply shorter than desirable. Yet the practical goal of getting a large enough sample from each informant to assure a reasonably complete inventory of phonemes, function words, and basic structural patterns is reached more often than not. And the tapes are important historical and cultural documents as well.

The descriptions of communities and of informants and their general speech patterns given in this chapter are intended to provide a context for the phonological tables in Chapter III. In the kind of dialectal research known as a "saturation study," such particularized descriptions would not be necessary because individual differences could be put into perspective statistically. There is much to be said

for that approach: isoglosses can be precisely drawn with some faith in their validity, population subgroups can be taken into account, and the probability of error can be calculated with mathematical accuracy so that the conclusions reached rest less on the interpretative judgment of the researcher than on the voluminous mass of the evidence. Yet, considering the number of separate dialect items sought in each community and the amount of time and money allotted for field work, it was not possible or even desirable in the DARE project to achieve the kind of numerical *tour de force* that makes purely statistical studies possible. With suitable care in choosing subjects for study coupled with adequate background information, especially in respect to individual peculiarities of a community or an informant, relatively few samples can be counted on with some degree of assurance to present an accurate picture of the speech habits of a large region.

The descriptions of communities which follow present in brief form a history of settlement and growth of each community together with the area surrounding it. A few words are included concerning its general character at the time the field work was done. Population figures, including the percentage of Negroes in the parish in which the community is situated, are from the United States Statistical Abstracts, based on the 1960 census.¹ The figure for percentage of Negroes is

¹U. S. Bureau of the Census, *County and City Data Book, 1967* (A Statistical Abstract Supplement) (Washington, D. C., 1967).

given not because it is important in itself, but because it is a convenient index to the community's cultural type. Pronunciations listed for community, parish, and state are those used by informants. If two informants use variant pronunciations, the pronunciations are identified with the informants' code numbers. If one informant uses variant pronunciations, the pronunciations are identified by relative frequency.

Descriptions of informants include general remarks on family history, age, education, occupation, and travel experience. All such material was supplied by the informants themselves. Since one purpose of the descriptions was to aid the DARE editorial staff in interpreting the questionnaires, some brief notations concerning the informants' speech characteristics were made at the time of the interviews. The nature of this study renders the greater part of those descriptions superfluous. Often, however, informants showed idiosyncratic speech features, or features characteristic of only part of their fellow citizens; in such cases the significant features are mentioned. Most places in Louisiana exhibit some kind of divided usage, so that opportunities to omit all mention of speech features in these descriptions were rare.

To protect the privacy of informants, neither their names nor their initials are given; the code numbers used to identify them are the ones employed by the *Dictionary* for filing questionnaires, tapes, and other documents relevant to the field work. In the descriptive

paragraphs that follow, the single word *informant* will be used to avoid overuse of the code numbers as name-substitutes.

Figure 4 shows the location of each community and indicates whether it is urban or rural.

Northern Louisiana

<i>Community:</i>	Lake Providence [ləɪk prævədəns]
<i>Population:</i>	5,781
<i>Percent Negro:</i>	61.0
<i>Parish:</i>	East Carroll [i:s kəɹəl]
<i>State:</i>	Louisiana [ləʊzjənə]

East Carroll Parish is in the extreme northeast corner of the state, and all of it is rich, flat, delta land. Lake Providence is on the Mississippi River about halfway between the north and south parish boundaries. Traditionally, mention of Lake Providence as a haven from river pirates goes back to the Spanish period, but settlement of the area did not really begin until the United States took possession. The early settlers were planters who established large cotton holdings, bringing with them Negro slaves to work the land, and importing more as their wealth grew.

Once permanent settlement began there was a rather quick transition to a mellow and spacious way of living for an oligarchy of leading families and a modestly comfortable one for others. Plantations of several thousand acres soon appeared.¹

After nearby Mississippi, the states have contributed the largest numbers of migrants to the population of East Carroll Parish are

¹*East Carroll Parish Resources and Facilities*, by the East Carroll Parish Development Board (Baton Rouge, 1951), p. 15.

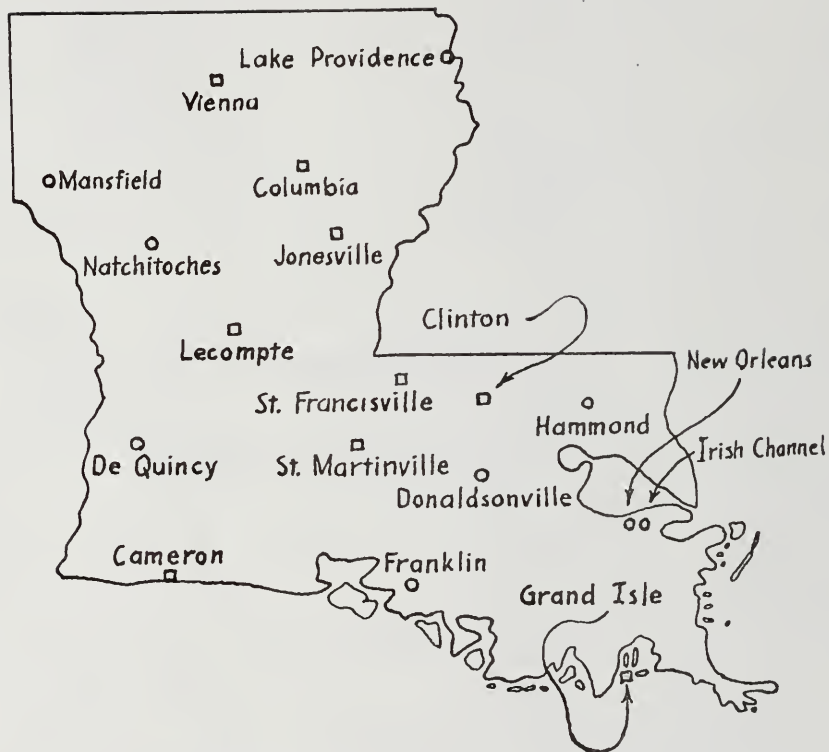


Figure 4. Communities studied. Circles indicate urban communities; squares indicate rural communities.

Alabama, Kentucky, and Virginia. Cotton and soybeans are now the most important crops. Most of the land is apportioned among a number of large plantations, and almost all of it lying outside the levees which is not too swampy has been cleared for growing crops. Some plantations have extensive pecan orchards as well.

Informant: LA 8, Negro man, aged 54

Informant was born in East Carroll Parish, as were his mother and her parents. His father was born in East Carroll Parish, but his paternal grandparents came from Georgia. He has a tenth grade education and has done little traveling; the traveling he has done has been mostly on trips to pick up machinery or parts for his employer. He has always worked for the same man in all phases of the cotton industry from planting through ginning to baling. He is active in church work and is generally looked up to by other members of the black segment of the population of Lake Providence.

When he repeated the fieldworker's questions, as occasionally happened when he was not sure that he understood, he would transpose them into his own dialect grammatically as well as phonetically. He does not seem to be using a more formal variety of speech on tape than he uses in ordinary conversation.

Community: Vienna [v à ĭ é n ə]
Population: 500
Percent Negro: 41.8
Parish: Lincoln [l ĭ ŋ k ə n]
State: Louisiana [l ŭ z ĭ é n ə];
occasionally [l ŭ ĭ z ĭ é n ə]

Lincoln Parish is in north central Louisiana, in the heart of the original oak and pine forest country of the sandhills. The tiny settlement of Vienna has been eclipsed by Ruston, less than five miles to the south. Early settlers came from lowland parts of Louisiana, which were thought to be unhealthful, and from states east of the Mississippi. For the most part the newcomers were English-speaking Protestants. Georgia and Alabama contributed more early migrants to Lincoln Parish than any other states, but people came in fair numbers from South Carolina and Mississippi as well. Vienna, founded by Daniel Colvin, was a stopping point on the stage line established in 1825 from Monroe, Louisiana, to El Paso, Texas. There are many Colvins in the area around Vienna now, but they seem to be descendants of a later group. During the period 1853-1863, eleven Colvin brothers emigrated to Vienna from the Chester district of South Carolina. This group is probably related to the founder, but evidence for the relationship is hard to find. Many of the early settlers seem to have brought slaves with them, but plantation agriculture never caught on here, and most of the area, fairly heavily cultivated, remained divided up into small farms.¹

¹*Lincoln Parish Resources and Facilities*, by the Lincoln Parish Planning Board (Baton Rouge, 1943), pp. 9-10.

Unquestionably in the Bible belt, Lincoln Parish is one of the few in the state where alcoholic beverages are not sold; Sunday hunting is disapproved of; and the Baptist church is clearly the dominant religious influence. The small farms of the area, which held their own until after World War II, are now giving way to pasture and managed forest.

Informant: LA 12, Caucasian woman, aged 88

Informant was born at Unionville, Lincoln Parish, the daughter of one of the Colvin brothers of South Carolina. She has a high school education, completed in Ruston. She has lived all her life in the Ruston-Unionville area, which includes Vienna, and has traveled to Texas, Oklahoma, Florida, Missouri, and Arkansas. Social contacts are mostly within the Colvin family, which includes a broad cross section of the population of Lincoln Parish.

She uses bilabial fricatives for /f/ and /v/; this feature is purely idiosyncratic, caused by the absence of teeth, and has been ignored in the tabulations as not representative of the area. Formal and informal varieties of speech include separate expressions (*brought up, raised*) and different verb forms (preterit *did* or *done*). There is little change in phonology between functional varieties, but pronunciations of certain words vary; note her conscious and unconscious pronunciations of *Louisiana*. During most of the recording, she was not aware that her speech was being recorded, and it is in a completely natural conversational style.

Community: Mansfield [mænzfi:ld]
Population: 5,839
Percent Negro: 57.5
Parish: DeSoto [disoʊtə]
State: Louisiana [lu:ziænə]

Mansfield is near the center of DeSoto Parish, which lies near the northern end of the western crescent of sandhills and piney woods, next to the Texas line. The first white men to settle there were French and Spanish Creoles who remained mainly in the eastern part of the parish where the hunting and fishing were good. Later they were greatly outnumbered by English-speaking settlers from the eastern United States, principally Georgia, Mississippi, South Carolina, and Alabama. Many of these were wealthy slaveholders, who kept mostly to the northern part of the parish. Newcomers of less means established small farms in hillier areas.

DeSoto Parish was formed in 1843 from portions of Caddo and Natchitoches Parishes; Mansfield was founded and designated parish seat in the same year as a compromise between Screamerville, preferred by the English slaveholders, and Old Augusta, a steamboat landing on Bayou Pierre favored by the Creoles.¹

The old plantation families are still well represented in Mansfield and the surrounding communities, and some descendants of early Creole settlements remain as well, though no one speaks French or Spanish as a native language. Most of the Negroes still live in

¹*DeSoto Parish Resources and Facilities*, by the DeSoto Parish Development Board (Baton Rouge, 1949), pp. 7-8.

rural parts of the parish as they did in antebellum times. Early white farmers and workmen seem to have been less settled in their habits; a great many members of the lower middle class have come here from elsewhere. Most members of the old Mansfield families have at least some college education; nearly everyone else has no more than high school. Farming has declined in recent years, with row crops being replaced by planted pines, but dairying has increased in importance. The area is dotted with oil and gas fields, which are probably at least partly responsible for attracting newcomers from other parts of the country.

Informant: LA 17, Caucasian woman, aged 30

Informant's mother was born in Epps, Louisiana; her stepfather and his parents were born in Mansfield. Informant herself was born in Mansfield, but lived in Shreveport, in neighboring Bossier Parish, during her first nine school years. She has a B. A. from Sweet Briar College, Virginia. She has visited most of the southern and middle Atlantic states, New England, Eastern Canada, and Bermuda. A working wife, she does advertising layouts for a newspaper and occasionally does substitute teaching. Social contacts are mainly with the better Mansfield families, descendants of plantation owners.

Because of her schoolgirl years in Shreveport and her mother's birthplace in the northeastern part of the state, she might be expected to speak a more general variety of English than can be

localized strictly to Mansfield. But she does pronounce *mayonnaise* as [máɪnɛ̃z], which does not seem to be general over northern Louisiana, though it is the prevailing form in Mansfield. She usually has postvocalic /ɾ/, but the unstressed retroflex mid-vowel varies to schwa in some words. Intrusive /ɾ/ occurs sporadically. Her treatment of /ɾ/ reflects divided usage around Mansfield. In general, absence of postvocalic /ɾ/ in the southern pattern is upper class and old-fashioned.

Community:	Columbia [kəɫám biə]
Population:	1,021
Percent Negro:	27.8
Parish:	Caldwell [kəɫwɛɟt]
State:	Louisiana [lúɪziænə]

Caldwell Parish is situated near the middle of Louisiana's northern section of piney wooded hills. Columbia is on the west bank of the Ouachita River, which has spread a long stretch of alluvial soil through predominantly rolling sandy land. The earliest settlers to the area were Frenchmen, who migrated in small numbers up the river from French settlements along the Red and Mississippi Rivers. After 1806 they were joined by a few Danes, but there was no settlement of substantial size until the United States took possession of the Louisiana Territory. There is little specific information concerning the origin of the first Americans to settle there, but some of them,

at least, must have come from Kentucky, since the first name of the settlement occupying the present site of Columbia was New Kentucky.¹ According to Smith and Hitt's figures based on the 1880 population, Mississippi, Alabama, Virginia, and South Carolina were the most important sources of migrants to Caldwell Parish at that time. Columbia's most prosperous period was the time when steamboats were the major transportation in Louisiana. Farmers in the wooded land to the west, where slaves were rare and there were no big landholders, bought their produce here for shipment to outside markets. The most important exports were cotton and timber. Columbia's importance as a shipping center declined when railroads superseded river traffic. There is still some farming along the Ouachita River and even on the much smaller farms in the hilly parts of the parish, but most of the land is now given over to managed forest owned by large timber companies.

Informant: LA 2, Caucasian man, aged 72

Informant's mother and her parents were born here; her grandfather was one of the original French settlers in the area. Informant's father was born in Caldwell Parish; his paternal grandparents came from Mississippi. Informant himself has lived in the hilly western part of Caldwell Parish all his life, where he has engaged in patch farming and logging. He has a sixth grade education

¹Frederick William Williamson and George T. Goodman, *Eastern Louisiana: A History of the Watershed of the Ouachita River and the Florida Parishes*, eds. Frederick William Williamson and George T. Goodman (Louisville, Kentucky, Historical Record Association, n. d.), pp. 108-112.

and has not traveled any farther away than Monroe, Louisiana. As his wife jokingly expressed it, he's "been futher up a 'simmon tree than he's ever been away from home."

He was extremely self-conscious about the tape recorder, so that he stammered more and paused longer when he was being recorded than in normal conversation. As a result, there are some passages that are difficult to decipher phonetically and impossible morphemically. His use of postvocalic /ʁ/ varies, but in most instances it is considerably weakened. The final syllables of, e. g., *winter* and *Louisiana* are usually phonetically distinct from each other, but the sound in *winter* which has been transcribed [ʔ] in the tables corresponds more closely in character to [ʒ] than to [ʔ̥]. His pronunciation of /ʔ̥/ is closer to schwa than is usual in Caldwell Parish.

Informant: LA 1, Caucasian man, aged about 40

Informant's father is LA 2 above. His mother was born in Caldwell Parish; her parents were from Mississippi. He has lived in the western part of Caldwell Parish all his life, except for military service near the end of World War II, when he was sent to the South Pacific. He has an eleventh grade education. He was a logcutter for several years, and now works for the state highway department in a district encompassing several parishes.

His recording is fairly brief, consisting mostly of a reading of "Arthur the Rat," which he consented to do for his father, whose

eyes were too dim to read it. Final consonants are often dropped in his speech when his voice trails off before the end of a word. This occurs especially with nasal consonants, in which case nasalization of the vowel carries the full phonemic load of the final nasal. That characteristic was not heard from either his mother or his father, but it is doubtful that is totally idiosyncratic.

<i>Community:</i>	Jonesville [ʃ ó ɣ n z v ə t]
<i>Population:</i>	2,347
<i>Percent Negro:</i>	35.2
<i>Parish:</i>	Catahoula [k æ ɹ ə h ú l ə]
<i>State:</i>	Louisiana [l ŭ z i æ n ə]

Catahoula Parish lies in the eastern part of the Louisiana boot-top about forty miles west of Natchez, Mississippi. The north-west third of the parish includes part of the hilly north central piney woods; the remainder of the parish is flat delta land in the area where the Ouachita River bottomland joins the flood plain of the Mississippi. A number of Spanish grants were made to people with English names in the upper part of the parish. Most early settlers to the area were from Mississippi, but Alabama, Georgia, and Virginia also figure prominently. Ulster Scots, also called Scotch-Irish, must have made up a large percentage, because the *Mo*-section in the Jonesville-Harrison telephone book is one of the largest. A few of the early settlers were slaveholding cotton planters, but most people seem to have made their living in a somewhat more primitive fashion: fishing, hunting, and allowing their cattle and hogs to roam freely in the

swamps except when almost yearly floods forced them to carry them on barges to high ground. This kind of stock-raising was characteristic of a long, roughly oval area in the Tensas and Black River bottoms of Catahoula, Tensas, Concordia, and Franklin Parishes. The town of Jonesville was laid off comparatively late—in 1871—by Mrs. Laura Stewart Jones, who owned the tract of land on the south bank of Little River where it and the Tensas join the Ouachita to form Black River. Jonesville eclipsed an older settlement by the name of Trinity which had been established about 1833 on the north bank of Little River.¹

The old free-range swamp-grazing practices have been abandoned now. The delta land has been cleared, levees hold back the floods, and soybeans compete with cattle for the farmers' attention. Oil wells supplement agricultural income on many a farm. Jonesville is one of Louisiana's most important fresh-water commercial fishing centers.

Informant: LA 10, Caucasian man, aged 70

Informant was born in Monterey, Louisiana, a few miles from Jonesville on the other side of Black River, where his mother was also born. Her parents had come from South Carolina after the Civil War. Informant is uncertain about his father's birthplace or that of his paternal grandparents, but he knows that his father grew up in Monterey. Informant has had three years of college in the College of

¹Most of the information in this paragraph is found in *Catahoula Parish Resources and Facilities*, by the Catahoula Parish Planning Board (Baton Rouge, 1949), pp. 10-12. See also Williamson and Goodman, p. 81.

Arts and Sciences at Louisiana State University. During World War II he served as a platoon sergeant training recruits at Camp Taylor, Kentucky. During the period 1919-1933, he traveled to work in various oilfields, mostly in Louisiana but also in Arkansas and Texas. Since 1933 he has been living at Jonesville and operating his farm there, raising cattle, soybeans, and cotton.

He showed little trace of his college training in his speech, apparently preferring to conform to the most common speech patterns around Jonesville. His main deviation from the usual speech of the area is rather heavy nasalization, which seemed more noticeable in conversation face to face than on tape. Vowel length and tempo are moderate. Postvocalic /r/ is weakened or lost, which is not typical of the northeastern hilly parts of the parish, but seems to be a feature typical of the bottom lands. Folk found that the Southern pattern without postvocalic /r/ predominates in Catahoula Parish.¹

Informant: LA 11, Caucasian woman, aged 67

Informant is the wife of LA 10 above. She was born in Monterey, Louisiana, where her mother and maternal grandparents were born. Her father and his parents were born in Woodville, Mississippi. She lived in Harmon, Louisiana, from 1918 till 1922 and in Grand Bayou, Louisiana, from 1922 till 1933 before coming to Jonesville, where she has lived ever since. She has a B. A. in education from Northwestern State

¹Mary Lucile Pierce Folk, "A Word Atlas of North Louisiana," Dissertation, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, 1961, p. 54.

College, but her travels have been limited to visits in the neighboring states of Texas and Mississippi. Most of her life she has taught second grade, but for a time taught eight grades in a one-room school.

Though her speech normally includes a few nonstandard verb forms, it is closer to standard than the average for the area. Articulation is clear, and her speech is not strongly nasalized, as is her husband's.

<i>Community:</i>	Natchitoches [n æ k ə t ə ʃ]
<i>Population:</i>	13,924
<i>Percent Negro:</i>	43.6
<i>Parish:</i>	Natchitoches [n æ k ə t ə ʃ]
<i>State:</i>	Louisiana [l u ˈ i z i æ n ə]

As noted in the preceding chapter, Natchitoches was the first permanent settlement in what is now Louisiana. It was situated at the highest point of navigation on the Red River, and served during French ownership of Louisiana as an outpost against Spanish encroachments eastward. Spanish ownership of Louisiana after 1765 promoted the growth of Natchitoches, however. In the first French census, taken in 1722, the population was 34. In 1776, roughly ten years after the Spanish took possession, it was 457; in nine years more it had risen to 756.¹ The King's Highway ran east and west through Natchitoches, carrying traffic between Natchez, Mobile, and Texas, and the river gave access to New Orleans and from there to the east coast and Europe. Steamboat navigation, which began in 1824, promised to make Natchitoches

¹*Natchitoches Parish Resources and Facilities*, by the Natchitoches Parish Planning Board (Baton Rouge, n. d.), p. 8.

the second most important city in the state, but the Red River changed its channel, leaving the city five miles away from its new course. Furthermore, government engineers succeeded in removing the log jam which had formerly blocked navigation upstream from Natchitoches, allowing traffic to proceed as far as Shreveport, which soon took over second place in the state's commerce. But Natchitoches has not given up its position as cultural center; the Americans who came after 1803 were mostly rich and cultivated planters who blended their own heritage with that of the Creoles as they assimilated it. Though French is not spoken in Natchitoches as a native language, there are, just as in New Orleans, constant reminders of a Latin past. The residents of Natchitoches tend to look upon other sections of the state, with the exception of New Orleans and Baton Rouge, as somewhat boorish and backward.

Cotton has always been the chief product of the rich river-bottom soil of the area, though now soybeans compete for first place in importance. Cattle, corn, and potatoes are also widely grown. Tobacco and indigo, important crops in French and Spanish days, are no longer grown in commercial quantities.

Informant: LA 14, Caucasian man, aged 57

Informant's mother was born on a plantation near Natchitoches; she represented the seventh generation of her family there. Informant's father and paternal grandparents were born in Natchitoches; before that, the family had come from Homer, Louisiana. Informant himself was born

in Natchitoches, and except for the years when he was away at college, has always lived there. He received a B. A. from Northwestern State College in Natchitoches, an M. A. from Louisiana State University in Baton Rouge, and has done further graduate work at the University of Texas. He is a newspaper editor and publisher. He has traveled to Europe, the Bahamas, and all parts of the United States except New England and the Pacific Northwest.

His conversational speech is the language of well-bred ease, clearly articulated but not overprecise, moderate in tempo, with grammar that is unfailingly standard Southern. On tape he uses not quite the manner of casual conversation, but a somewhat more formal variety, approaching the style of a classroom lecture presentation.

<i>Community:</i>	LeCompte [ləkɑ̃nt]
<i>Population:</i>	1,485
<i>Percent Negro:</i>	30.3
<i>Parish:</i>	Rapides [ræpídʒ]
<i>State:</i>	Louisiana [lʊɪziˈænə] LA 15, [lʊzˈænə] LA 16

LeCompte is located south of Alexandria in Rapides Parish, which is near the center of the state not far from the apex of the triangle formed by French Louisiana. LeCompte itself is near the edge of the Red River delta where it borders on the western crescent of piney woods. Settlement in the area traditionally goes back to a Spanish Franciscan mission established in 1690, said to have been disbanded by the French. The first completely documented settlement was the Post du Rapide on Red River, established in 1723 or 1724, which

was still only a frontier outpost when the Spanish took over the colony in 1766.

Under the liberal Spanish rule of the latter part of the eighteenth century many people moved into central Louisiana from the American colonies. The original French and Spanish settlers were soon in the minority and as a whole their identity was lost. The immigrants gradually settled in small groups—Virginians on the upper end of Bayou Rapides or Bayou Jean de Jean near Boyce; Marylanders at the rapids and along the lower section of Bayou Rapides; South Carolinians in the vicinity of Cheneyville. New England, Pennsylvania, Tennessee and Kentucky were represented in small settlements along the river and bayous.¹

LeCompte, which was one of the earliest settlements in the parish, was not incorporated until 1900. Its first settlers were cotton and sugar cane planters who came shortly after the Louisiana Purchase.² It remains chiefly an agricultural center to this day; soybeans now compete with sugar cane and cotton, and on the hilly lands to the west there are a number of nurseries. Though on the edge of French Louisiana, LeCompte is decidedly Anglo in character. Only in the past twenty years have French families moved in appreciable numbers from their settlements some twenty or thirty miles to the south.

Informant: LA 15, Caucasian man, aged 75

Informant's mother was born in Rapides Parish of parents from South Carolina. His paternal grandparents also came from South Carolina,

¹*Rapides Parish Resources and Facilities*, by the Rapides Parish Planning Board (Baton Rouge, 1947), p. 10.

²*Rapides Parish Resources and Facilities*, pp. 9-11, 17-18, 25-26.

but settled in two or three spots in Louisiana before making their permanent home in the Cheneyville-LeCompte area. Informant's father was born en route. Informant himself was born in LeCompte and received a sixth grade education there. He farmed there until the age of 73, when he went into retirement in Alexandria, the parish seat, some twelve miles from LeCompte. As a young man, he traveled as far away as Colorado following the wheat harvest, and since then has vacationed in Florida and Texas.

His grammar is nonstandard most of the time. Postvocalic /r/ is usually absent or greatly weakened.

Informant: LA 16, Caucasian woman, aged 72

Informant is the wife of LA 15 above. Her mother was born in Rapides Parish. Her maternal grandfather came from Mississippi, and her maternal grandmother was born in Rapides Parish. Informant's father was born somewhere in Louisiana, but his parents came from Mississippi. Informant herself was born in LeCompte and lived there until age 70, when she moved to near-by Alexandria. She had a sixth grade education and has traveled to Florida and Texas on vacation. She grew up on a farm and has been a farm housewife since her marriage. She and her husband belong to the Methodist Church, one of the two most prominent in the Parish—the other is the Baptist.

Her taped speech is somewhat more careful than unguarded conversation. Even in most casual conversation, though, her articulation is quite clear. Grammar is nonstandard much of the time, even

in fairly formal circumstances. Although there are sporadic exceptions, she usually has postvocalic /r/ after all vowels. This difference between her own and her husband's speech points up the difficulty of drawing hard and fast isoglosses in Louisiana, since noticeably different speech features may exist side by side.

<i>Community:</i>	DeQuincy [dɪkwɪntsi]
<i>Population:</i>	3,928
<i>Percent Negro:</i>	20.8
<i>Parish:</i>	Calcasieu [kəʊkəʒu]
<i>State:</i>	Louisiana [ləʒiæne]

DeQuincy is culturally but not geographically a part of northern Louisiana; it lies near the southern end of the western crescent of piney woods. Though it is in Calcasieu Parish, it is economically and culturally more closely connected to Beauregard Parish, which surrounds it on three sides. First settlers in the area were Frenchmen who came during the Spanish domination, but they were soon joined by people with such names as Moss, Ryan, and Rigmaiden. Until 1819, when the Sabine River was officially established as the western boundary of Louisiana, they paid taxes to the Spanish Governor at Nacogdoches, Texas, but the area was actually part of a neutral strip of ground, unpatrolled by either Spanish or American soldiers, and it became a haven for Indians, felons, and runaway slaves. Pioneers continued to arrive, before and after the boundary question was settled, and enough came from other states to the east that the first church in the area was a Primitive Baptist Church founded in the Big Woods

settlement in 1828. Lumbering was the only early industry, and most of the old settlers practiced subsistence farming, raising everything they needed except coffee, and usually bartering for that with eggs or moss. After the Civil War there was a great influx of northern and middle western migrants into Lake Charles, but in the whole Calcasieu-Beauregard area, including DeQuincy, settlers from Mississippi, Alabama, and Georgia were more numerous, along with those who crossed over the Sabine from Texas.¹

DeQuincy seems to be a continuation of the original Big Woods settlement; many people from the older community moved there for the economic advantages of being next to the railroad. In DeQuincy's early days it was a rip-roaring frontier town with a strip of saloons where gunfights occurred nearly every week. Now it is a quiet, friendly place where once again many of the residents make their living in the timber from replanted forests which cover much of the area of the original virgin stands.

Informant: LA 29, Caucasian man, aged 76

Informant's father was born some twenty miles from the present site of DeQuincy along the Calcasieu River. His mother probably came from Mississippi or Alabama. Further family history is not available.

¹*Calcasieu Parish Resources and Facilities*, by the Calcasieu Parish Planning Board (Baton Rouge, 1945), pp. 10-13. Substantially the same information is recorded in *Beauregard Parish Resources and Facilities*, by the Beauregard Parish Planning Board (Baton Rouge, 1949), pp. 7 ff. Beauregard Parish was originally only a part of Calcasieu Parish.

Informant himself was born in Big Woods, Louisiana, moved to DeQuincy before the age of twenty, and has lived there ever since. He attended school to the third grade, and has visited only the neighboring states of Arkansas, Mississippi, and Texas. He is a meatcutter by trade. There is little social stratification in DeQuincy, and he mixes socially with most of the older residents of the area.

His speech is heavily nasalized. Tempo and vowel length are slower than average. Grammar is usually nonstandard, and while making the recording he did not seem to be striving for a more formal variety of speech than he uses in ordinary conversation.

Informant: LA 28, Caucasian woman, aged 68

Informant is unrelated to LA 29 above. Her father was raised in Big Woods, Louisiana, but she is uncertain about his birthplace or that of his parents. Her mother was an orphan from Lake Charles, the Parish Seat of Calcasieu Parish. Her foster parents were probably born in that area. Informant was born in Big Woods, Louisiana, and moved to DeQuincy before she was married. For a few years she lived in Port Allen, just across the river from Baton Rouge. She has a seventh grade education, and has not traveled outside the state except just across the Parish line into Texas. She enjoys gardening and crocheting as well as attending gospel singings in the community.

Her speech is somewhat nasalized, but not so heavily as that of LA 29. Tempo is fairly fast and becomes faster when she reads.

She was a little self-conscious in front of the recorder and seemed to try to be a little more formal grammatically than she would have been in natural conversation. Her phonology was probably very little affected, if at all.

Florida Parishes

<i>Community:</i>	St. Francisville [sɛnt fræ̃səs vîɛʔ] [sæ̃ fræn səs vîɛʔ]
<i>Population:</i>	1,661
<i>Percent Negro:</i>	66.1
<i>Parish:</i>	West Feliciana [wès fəliʃɛ̃nə], LA 3;
<i>State:</i>	Louisiana [luziæ̃nə], LA 5

West Feliciana Parish lies along the east bank of the Mississippi River in the northwest corner of that part of Louisiana known as the Florida Parishes. There is some delta land, but most is low, rolling, sandy land originally covered with pines. St. Francisville is beside the Mississippi about halfway between the southern boundary of the parish and the Mississippi state line, which forms the northern boundary of the parish. This section was never heavily settled by the French, although the first plantation in what is now West Feliciana Parish was owned by a Frenchman named LeJune. During the American Revolution, however, a large number of pioneers, many of them from North Carolina, settled along the river above Baton Rouge, forming what came to be called the district of Feliciana. At that time it was a British possession, and most of these families came both to escape persecution by their revolutionary neighbors and

to avoid fighting against their native land. By and large, they were rich slaveowners whose mode of life was ease and elegance. According to an antebellum account by Captain Richard Butler, from Pittsburgh, they rivalled the finest that the East had to offer:

I visited with eleven different families in my stay. I was much astonished to see the style (truly elegant) they lived in. They are, in fact, all rich. Some of them own as many as two or three hundred slaves and elegant farm stock innumerable, and so near to New Orleans, which is a fine market for their produce. It is a great advantage as they can secure all the luxuries that a seaport affords.¹

The two principal towns in the area were Bayou Sara and St. Francisville. St. Francisville was the center for the wealthy landowners; they went to church there and traded there. Bayou Sara, on a batture² below St. Francisville, was inhabited by tough riverboatmen, roustabouts, and frontiersmen.³ It has now disappeared as a separate town, though residents still call the part of St. Francisville nearest the river by the old name of Bayou Sara. Except for a few fishermen along the Mississippi and many of the merchants in St. Francisville itself, nearly everyone in the parish has a heritage dating back within the community to plantation days. Negro descendants of the original slaves outnumber white descendants of the original planters.

Pecans, cotton, soybeans, and vegetables, especially sweet potatoes, are the principal crops of West Feliciana, but the most

¹Williamson and Goodman, *Eastern Louisiana*, p. 481.

²French /batyr/, English /bæts/, a Louisiana word meaning a riverbank formed of relatively recent alluvial deposits.

³Williamson and Goodman, pp. 479-486, 501. Also see Alcée Fortier, *A History of Louisiana* (New York, 1904), III, 40.

important reminders of the plantation heritage are the many old plantation houses that remain there, some of them restored and open to touring guests, some of them still being used as residences.

Informant: LA 3, Caucasian man, aged 53

His mother's forebears come to West Feliciana Parish from South Carolina and Georgia about 1800. His great-grandmother was a pupil of John James Audubon when he was a tutor at the Oakley Plantation near St. Francisville. His father's ancestors came from the Carolinas about 1800; one of them figured prominently in the West Florida Rebellion of 1810. He has lived in or near St. Francisville all of his life except for one year in Florida in 1926 and a term in the Navy during World War II. He has a high school education and has traveled extensively within the United States and into Canada. Informant's grammar is standard. In most respects, pronunciation corresponds rather closely to standard usage in other parts of Louisiana and the South in general. But the phoneme /k/ sometimes approaches /X/, and /S/ sometimes is backed toward /š/. Comparison with other members of the community indicates that these features are idiosyncratic, and not part of the usual pattern in St. Francisville. Informant's speech manner on the recording is somewhat more formal than casual conversation.

Informant: LA 5, Caucasian man, aged 41

Informant's mother was born in the part of St. Francisville formerly known as Bayou Sara. His father was born at Cat Island,

eighteen miles up the river. Further family history is not available. Informant has lived in St. Francisville most of his life, but for twelve years lived in Baton Rouge, where he works in an oil refinery. Before moving there and subsequently returning to St. Francisville he was a commercial fisherman. He has an elementary school education, and has not traveled away from the Mississippi-Louisiana area. Since the primary purpose of the interview with him was to uncover terminology applicable to fish and fishing in this part of the state, the recording does not include "Arthur the Rat."

His use of a smooth (not inglided) raised variant of /I/ before nasals in stressed monosyllables is somewhat of a puzzle, since it was not heard in any of the other communities in Louisiana, nor from other speakers in this one. The feature may be idiosyncratic, or it may be characteristic of a certain social level along this part of the river. Acadian influence is evident from his practice of redoubling of adjectives as an intensive device—*bumpy-bumpy* means *very bumpy*—as well as by his treatment of interdentalals in unstressed words like *the*, *that*, *with*, and so forth.

Community:	Clinton [klíntŋ]
Population:	1,568
Percent Negro:	54
Parish:	East Feliciana [ìs fə ùziá nə]
State:	Louisiana [lùziá nə]

East Feliciana Parish, one of the Florida Parishes, lies immediately south of the Mississippi state line about sixty miles northeast of Baton Rouge.

The early history of East Feliciana Parish is much the same as that of West Feliciana; the two were not divided until 1824, when the site of Clinton was chosen for the parish seat. Much the same kind of plantation elegance was the rule in what is now East Feliciana Parish as in the older areas along the Mississippi. There was, however, a larger percentage of Northerners in the very early settlements in the eastern part of the original district of Feliciana. Later migrations were much the same in the two areas. During the middle of the nineteenth century, East Feliciana became an important educational center for women. The Clinton Female Academy was established in 1832, Silliman Female College in 1852, and Millwood Female Institute in 1866.¹ None of these institutions is still in operation, but the influence they had on their students and on the community as a whole is still felt. As in West Feliciana, the black population is much larger than the white, and in general the blacks did not begin to enjoy the educational benefits the area had to offer until recent years.

Informant: LA 7, Negro man, aged 76

Informant's mother was born in East Feliciana Parish; her parents probably came from Mississippi. His father was born in East Feliciana Parish; paternal grandparents came from Amite County, Mississippi. Informant himself has always lived in the southeast

¹Williamson and Goodman, pp. 516-518.

portion of East Feliciana Parish. After attending school as far as the fourth grade, he left off schooling to work on a plantation. He now owns a small farm and a cane mill where he grinds cane and makes syrup for himself and his neighbors. He is one of the most respected members of the Baptist Church which he attends, and is respected by Negroes and whites alike in Clinton.

Final consonants are often lost as his voice drops to an inaudible level at the end of a word. Final /d/ in weak preterits is especially subject to loss, because of the marked weakening of final unstressed syllables. His tempo is very slow. Final or pre-consonantal /m/ and /n/ are often represented solely by nasal coloring of the vowel, and this tendency seems to be growing stronger in later generations, since it is much more noticeable among his grandchildren than in his own speech. None of these characteristics was observed in the speech of more privileged members of Clinton society.

Informant: LA 6, Negro woman, aged 72

Informant is the wife of LA 7, above. Her mother was born in East Feliciana Parish; her maternal grandmother was half white and one quarter Indian. Informant's father was born in East Feliciana, but the family history is not known farther back than that. She has always lived in the southeast part of the Parish, where she went to the fourth grade in school. She has never worked as a domestic, but has been a farm housewife since her marriage.

The stressed vowel in a two-syllable word like *daddy* is often lengthened, and the second syllable correspondingly shortened and weakened. This lengthening and shortening is more noticeable in her speech than in her husband's, and is more noticeable yet in the speech of their granddaughter.

Community: Hammond [hæmænd]
 Population: 10,568
 Percent Negro: 33.8
 Parish: Tangipahoa [tæŋɪpəhòʊ]
 State: Louisiana [lùziæne];
 occasionally [lùziænə]

Tangipahoa Parish lies near the middle of Louisiana's Florida Parishes, extending from Lakes Maurepas and Pontchartrain northwards to the Mississippi state line. There was once a French settlement at the mouth of the Tangipahoa River, but it appears to have died out early in the nineteenth century. Spanish land grants were made along the Tangipahoa River for almost its entire length. The area away from the river was largely unsettled, however, until after the United States took possession of West Florida. Hammond lies away from the river, near the middle of the parish. Its first settler was Peter Hammond, a native of Sweden, who established a farm at the present site of Hammond in 1825. When the Jackson Railroad was built in 1854, it crossed the Covington-Baton Rouge Highway on his property. Hammond's Crossing, as it was first known, became a rest stop for passengers and a shipping point for the fruits and vegetables grown in the area. It was incorporated in 1889 as the town of Hammond.

At that time it was a popular retirement site for Northern railroad men and fruit-buyers, and seems to have attracted a fair share of younger Northern families as well.¹

Agriculture in the area is mostly devoted to strawberries, beans, and peppers, with smaller amounts of other vegetables. Most of the produce goes to New Orleans markets. Timber was a valuable asset in the early days, and is becoming so again as planted pines reforest the cutover lands not suitable for row crops.

Informant: LA 40, Caucasian man, aged 80

Informant's mother and maternal grandparents were born in Tangipahoa Parish. His father was born in Hammond, his paternal grandfather was born in Georgia, and his paternal grandmother was a daughter of Peter Hammond. Informant himself was born in Hammond and has never lived anywhere else, but has traveled rather widely within the United States. He has a tenth grade education. Dairy farming and construction work have been his main occupations, but he spent several years as a blacksmith, and as a youth he helped to run his father's sawmill.

His grammar is usually standard. The tempo of his speech is quite slow, no doubt because of his age. His postvocalic /r/ is more strongly retroflexed than that of most residents of Hammond, and his implosive final /d/ was not heard from anyone else there. Both features are probably old-fashioned. The sample recorded for this study is typical of his conversational speech.

¹Williamson and Goodman, pp. 358-374.

French Louisiana

Community: St. Martinville [sɛ̃n mɑ̃ʁtɛ̃vɛ̃zɛ̃t]
Population: 6,468
Percent Negro: 37.2
Parish: St. Martin [sɛ̃n mɑ̃ʁtɛ̃n]
State: Louisiana [ləwɛ̃zɛ̃nə], LA 34;
[ləzɛ̃nə], LA 33

St. Martin Parish is in south central Louisiana, in the heart of the original Attakapas District. The first settlers to the area were Creole French; most subsequent ones have been Acadian French. In 1760 Gabriel Fuselier de Claire made the first homesite in the district, and in 1764 the Marquis de Vaugine, a former captain in the French army, established an indigo plantation. In 1765 the Acadians began to arrive, and within little more than ten years their number had reached about 4,000. Most of them farmed, raising indigo as a staple crop. St. Martinville came to be their chief trade center, and it is there that Emmaline Labiche, whose real-life story inspired Longfellow's *Evangeline*, is buried. Furthermore, St. Martinville came to be a refuge for exiled French nobility, some of them fleeing the slave rebellions of Santo Domingo, others the French Revolution. For a time they succeeded so well in maintaining their former elegant mode of life that the town came to be named "*le petit Paris*." The aristocrats seem to have merged eventually with the more numerous Acadians, but English-speakers, of whom there were a few following Louisiana's statehood, were assimilated more slowly. In general,

the French associated with them only rarely, and that principally for business matters.¹

Though the number of English-speaking migrants to St. Martin Parish has always been small, in the twentieth century the schools have taught English to most of the inhabitants of the area, so that now it is more common to hear English than French spoken on the streets of St. Martinville. In fact, some of the younger descendants of Evangeline's protectors do not know French, although their native English pronunciation has been noticeably influenced by the French-speaking heritage of their parents. Very few people who are now middle-aged learned English before French, and perhaps only half of those in the 20-30 age group did. But French is steadily losing ground as more and more parents teach their children English so that they will not be handicapped by a language problem when they enter school.

Informant: LA 33, Caucasian woman, aged 59

Informant's father's family has been in the St. Martinville area since 1765. Her mother, born in St. Martinville, was Acadian on one side, Pennsylvania Dutch on the other. Informant has lived most of her life at Catahoula Lake, some fourteen miles outside St. Martinville. She has a B. A. from South Louisiana State College, in near-by Lafayette. She is now a museum curator and has written

¹*St. Martin Parish Resources and Facilities*, by the St. Martin Parish Development Board (Baton Rouge, 1950), pp. 7-9.

articles on Acadian history and culture. She has traveled to every part of the United States.

She learned French and English together in the home, and has made sure that her own children know both languages. Some French intonation patterns carry over into English, though the fact is that many French intonations are fully naturalized English in this community.

Informant: LA 34, Caucasian man, aged 24

Informant was born in St. Martinville, as were his parents and both sets of grandparents. His earliest ancestors in St. Martinville were the family who sheltered Emmaline Labiche, the model for *Evangeline*. He went through high school in St. Martinville and attended one year of college in Lafayette. At age 22, he lived for ten months in New Orleans, the only time his residence has been away from St. Martinville. He has traveled to Mississippi and through Texas, New Mexico, Oklahoma, Wyoming, and Colorado. Formerly a country club manager, he is presently a policeman.

He is a member of the first generation in St. Martinville that includes an appreciable number of people who do not speak French. He himself does not. French influence is evident, however, in his intonation patterns and phonology. He uses some anglicized pronunciations, but many French loan words are pronounced exactly as they are in French. His year in college seems to have affected his speech very little if at all, since his speech is very much like that of other young residents of St. Martinville who did not attend college.

Community: Franklin [fræŋklən]
Population: 8,673
Percent Negro: 30.6
Parish: St. Mary [sèɪnt məri]
State: Louisiana [lʊziænə]

St. Mary Parish is on the Gulf Coast about halfway between the western and eastern borders of the state. Most of the area is marsh or swamp; Franklin is on relatively high, very rich alluvial land bordering Bayou Tèche. Like St. Martinville, it lies within the old Attakapas District, but the settlement of this downstream part of the Tèche was delayed because it was relatively inaccessible. It took a two-week trip up the Mississippi and down the Tèche to go around the Chacahoula and Des Allemands swamps which lie between Franklin and New Orleans. By 1800 there were only ten or twelve white families in the area, representing both French Creole and English planter stock; at least one of the earliest group, one James Sanders, was from South Carolina. Franklin was founded in 1808 by Alexander C. Lewis. Tradition says he was from Pennsylvania, but old deeds seem to indicate either Kentucky or Tennessee. The population did not increase rapidly; by 1819 it had reached 150.¹ At any rate, except for the De la Houssayes and perhaps a few other French Creole families, most of the early planters seem to have been English-speakers from further east. There has always been a cultivated group of English-speakers in Franklin, and the Negroes speak English as a native language, giving

¹*St. Mary Parish Resources and Facilities*, by the St. Mary Parish Planning Board (Baton Rouge, 1949), pp. 7, 9.

evidence that their ancestors were slaves of English-speaking masters. There are also a good many people in and around Franklin of Acadian French descent; most of them have come fairly recently from surrounding rural areas. Anyone with much of a French accent in Franklin probably grew up in the country. Furthermore, among many whose native language was French, a French accent is no longer detectable.

Sugar cane is the most important crop, and has been for generations. The fields stretch from the banks of the Tèche to swamps or marshes away from the bayou on either side and are protected from the waters of both by levees. Shipping is important on the Tèche and on the Intracoastal Waterway.

Informant: LA 25, Caucasian woman, aged 75

Informant was born in St. Mary Parish near Franklin. Her parents were from Denmark; they spoke no English until coming to Franklin, but learned it before informant was born. She has an eighth grade education, has not lived in any other communities besides Franklin, and has not traveled. Her adult life has been spent as a housewife. She has also been active in church work. She attends services at the Methodist Church, which in this community includes few of the very wealthy and few of the very poor.

She speaks no language but English, and she lacks the intonation characteristics that distinguish a French accent. But double negatives and a few other features distinguish her speech from the standard dialect spoken by college-educated Franklinites. Her verb forms are

nearly all standard; this feature is also common in the English of native French-speakers of the area. In words of French origin, she uses nasalization in the same way as native French-speakers.

Community: Donaldsonville [dánʔsənviɛʔ]
Population: 6,082
Percent Negro: 31.9
Parish: Ascension [əsínʂən]
State: Louisiana [ləwizizjənə]

Ascension Parish lies on both sides of the Mississippi River a little more than halfway upriver to Baton Rouge from New Orleans. Donaldsonville is situated on the west side of the river at the point where Bayou Lafourche leaves the Mississippi on its own independent course to the gulf. The area was largely uninhabited until Acadian refugees came to Louisiana; by 1770 the Spanish government had established from twenty-five to fifty Acadian families in the area, largely up and down the banks of the Mississippi. A few Spanish Creoles settled on the west side of the river. William Donaldson bought the present site of Donaldsonville from the widow of an Acadian exile and laid out the plan for the city in 1806, three years after the American possession. Other Americans—merchants, speculators, and planters—bought up other Acadian riverfront farms and consolidated them into large plantations. The Acadians moved away from the riverfront toward swampier, less desirable homesites. The plantations, requiring slave labor in antebellum days, imported Negroes from Virginia and Kentucky; Mississippi and South Carolina also sent

considerable numbers of migrants, probably of both races. In parts of the parish where plantation life was dominant, Negroes now outnumber whites. In areas to which the Acadians were relegated, Negroes make up less than a quarter of the population.¹ The present economy is geared primarily to raising sugar cane and manufacturing sugar, but other industry is moving in—there is a large nitrogen plant in Donaldsonville. The Anglo, Acadian, and Spanish stocks seem to be assimilating each other rather slowly.

Informant: LA 20, Caucasian man, aged 67

Informant was born in McCall, a small settlement some six miles outside Donaldsonville, where he still lives. Both parents were descendants of a small group of Spanish colonists who came to the area before 1800. He has about a fifth grade education and has traveled to Florida for fishing vacations. He has worked as supervisor in several parts of a sugar mill and was an insurance agent for several years, during which time he also drove a school bus.

Although he grew up speaking English, he speaks Spanish and Acadian French as well. He is in the transitional generation between Spanish and English; his parents used Spanish as a first language but taught him English and Spanish together. His children do not know Spanish. Grammar is usually nonstandard. He uses hovering stress more frequently than most English-speakers. There is such diversity in

¹*Ascension Parish Resources and Facilities*, by the Ascension Parish Planning Board (Baton Rouge, 1947), pp. 9-13.

speech patterns in Donaldsonville and the area because of the incompletely assimilated French, Spanish, and English languages that no one speaker could be considered typical of the whole community, but LA 20 seems to be typical of one of the groups, at least.

Community: Cameron [k ɛ m r ə n]
Population: 950
Percent Negro: 6.3
Parish: Cameron [k ɛ m r ə n]
State: Louisiana [lə w ɪ z i ɛ n ə]; occasionally [lə z i ɛ n ə]

Cameron Parish is at the extreme southwest corner of the state. Except for a strip of prairie along its northern edge and for a few large and numerous small lakes, it consists entirely of marsh interrupted by long low ridges called *cheniers*. Serious settlement of the area did not begin until after the War of 1812—in fact, not until the second quarter of the nineteenth century—but since the only land suitable for farming was on the prairie and along the narrow cheniers, it did not take long for all the desirable land to be taken up, and Cameron Parish is still the least densely populated area of the state. People with English names seem to have settled mainly near the coast; those with French names spread into other parts of the parish from earlier Acadian settlements to the east and north. "Actual figures are of course not available but it seems safe to say that the Scotch-Irish were the dominant element in the population of the cheniers a century ago. They remained for a generation or two longer, then moved

on again, seeking better opportunities elsewhere."¹ Even before they moved on, and to a greater degree since then, French, Italians, Germans, Irish, and Spaniards have mingled with the continued trickle of settlers from other states. Slavery was never profitable in the cheniers, and though some early settlers brought slaves with them, the percentage of Negroes in Cameron's population has always been small.² Today English is almost the only language heard in Cameron, but many speak it with a French accent.

People still live on the cheniers and raise their gardens there, trapping muskrats and nutria from the marsh and letting cattle graze freely on marsh grass. Much of the parish has been reserved for wild-life refuges for the protection of ducks and geese on their wintering ground there. The translocation of a menhaden fishery to Cameron from North Carolina in the 1940s has brought many people from that state and doubled activity at the port of Cameron over the days when shrimp provided the only important commercial fishing. Sport fishing attracts many summer visitors. But offshore oil has probably been responsible for more new residents coming to Cameron in recent years than any other single factor.

Informant: LA 31, Caucasian man, aged 73

Informant's mother was born in Cameron Parish; his maternal grandmother was a schoolteacher from Tangipahoa Parish and his maternal

¹*Cameron Parish Resources and Facilities*, by the Cameron Parish Development Board (Baton Rouge, n. d.), p. 13.

²*Cameron Parish Resources and Facilities*, pp. 7-19.

grandfather was from Ohio. His father was originally from Chambers County, Alabama, but had moved to Dallas County, Texas, before coming to Cameron. Informant himself has lived in Cameron all his life except for two years; he lived in Denver, Colorado, during his fifth and sixth years of school. He has had two years of college and has traveled to all the states except Wisconsin, Minnesota, and the Dakotas. His vocation and avocation are combined in cattle raising.

Because of his extensive travels and his acquaintance with Beauregard Parish through his cattle holdings there, he knows a good many words that other people around Cameron may not. It is hard to say how much the sounds of his native speech may have been modified. He has /hw/ in *wh*-words, which is old-fashioned in Cameron. People there whose first language was French generally have only /w/, and this feature seems to have carried over into the speech of younger generations of Anglos. His strong postvocalic /r/ is typical of Cameron.

<i>Community:</i>	Grand Isle [grænd aɪlə]
<i>Population:</i>	2,074
<i>Percent Negro:</i>	15.1
<i>Parish:</i>	Jefferson [ʒɛfərsən]
<i>State:</i>	Louisiana [ləwɪziʒənə]

Grand Isle lies just off the Gulf Coast near where Bayou Lafourche flows into the gulf, almost directly south of New Orleans. In the early 1800s it was one of the hangouts of Jean Lafitte's band of privateers. After Lafitte died at Galveston and the group broke

up, a number of the ex-pirates settled on Grand Isle. They were of mixed nationalities--Italian, Spanish, even English--but the French predominated, and for many years the only language spoken on the island was French, whether the speaker's name be Ludwig, Bradberry, or Chighizola. In the 1930s a bridge was built to the island, and the English language began to supplant the French. Since World War II many children have learned English as a first language, and now some of the younger ones do not speak French at all.

Truck farming used to be practiced, but died out before English became a common language, so that English farming terms are virtually unknown there except to people who grew up elsewhere. Commercial and sports fishing, tourism, and oil and sulfur operations are now the main support of the town. It is the scene of an annual tarpon rodeo, and is a popular beach resort. Tourists have little effect on the speech of the island, but no doubt the mainlanders who have moved there to work the oil and sulfur rigs and made Grand Isle their more or less permanent home will be assimilated, socially and linguistically, into the small group of old-line families, which had formerly been augmented mainly by Acadian French from the mainland. This is one place where the schoolteacher's English has had an appreciable effect on native speech, since teachers were one of the most important groups to bring English to the island.¹

¹The information in these two paragraphs was gleaned from residents of Grand Isle. A good brief written history, also gleaned from residents of Grand Isle, can be found in Carolyn Ramsey, *Cajuns on the Bayous* (New York, 1957), pp. 124-128.

Informant: LA 37, Caucasian man, aged 18

Informant's mother and maternal grandfather were born in Grand Isle; his maternal grandmother was born in Chenière, Louisiana. His father and paternal grandparents were born in Grand Isle. He is a senior in high school and participates in athletics and keeps up a part-time job at a drive-in restaurant. He has traveled through Texas, Arkansas, Mississippi, and Alabama. He is among the first generation in Grand Isle to use English as a first language. He is not fluent in French but naturally knows a good many French words and expressions because his parents use French in the home with each other, though they use English with the children. Many of the islanders his age speak French as a first language, but virtually everyone now speaks at least some English.

French words in English sentences are not anglicized. In English words he uses the usual English /r/, but in French words he uses the uvular variety.

Informant: LA 36, Caucasian boy, aged 11

Informant is the brother of LA 37 above. He is in the fifth grade. He has probably come into contact with more English and less French than his brother had at the same age, since some of the younger boy's playmates were not born in Grand Isle, and a larger percentage of those who were, speak English as a first language. He shares most of his brother's phonetic characteristics.

New Orleans

Community: New Orleans [nù ólənɜ]
Population: 627,525; Standard Metropolitan District (City and
Suburbs) 868,480
Percent Negro: 30.3
Parish: Orleans [ɔlíɜz]
State: Louisiana [ləwɪziǝnə], LA 33;
[lùziǝnə], LA 22

Much of the early history of New Orleans has been covered in the preceding chapter. Its settlement history has been more complex than that of any other part of the state, and probably more complex than all the rest of the state put together. Only a very brief summary can be given here.

Soon after its founding in 1718, New Orleans took a position as the capital city of the colony of Louisiana, and remained so until Baton Rouge was declared the State capital in 1852, after other sites had been proposed. New Orleans remained Louisiana's largest city and its chief cultural center. It rivaled New York and San Francisco as a port of entry for foreign immigrants, and since the days when Spain ruled Louisiana, its population has been more cosmopolitan than that of any other Southern city. The most important elements of its population have come from France, the American Colonies, which later became the United States, Spain, Great Britain, Italy, and Germany. In the early days of Louisiana's statehood, the two most important factions, the Americans and the Creole French, were so much at odds that they had separate city councils under one mayor.

The Americans lived uptown, that is, upriver from Canal Street, which formed the boundary of the original city of New Orleans, called the French Quarter or the Vieux Carré, where most Creoles lived. A heterogeneous group inhabited the Third Municipality, downstream from the French Quarter.¹ Later groups of Germans, Irish, and, finally, Italians took up residence in various settlements within the city, mostly uptown.² Like many another river town, New Orleans, as it grew, absorbed plantations on its outskirts. Negroes remained in their quarters, which adjoined white neighborhoods in a checkerboard pattern. Consequently, no single ghetto has grown up in New Orleans, though the Negro sections of town are generally much less prosperous than white sections.

Informant: LA 23, Caucasian woman, aged 33

Informant's father and paternal grandparents were born in New Orleans. Her mother and maternal grandparents were from Natchez, Mississippi. Informant grew up and received a high school education in the University District of New Orleans, part of the uptown section of the city settled chiefly after 1803 by Americans from other states. She has lived all her life in New Orleans except for one year in Dover, Delaware, in 1955. Except for that, travel has been limited mostly to family visits in Mississippi. She now lives in Metairie, a suburb of New Orleans.

¹Harold Sinclair, *The Port of New Orleans* (New York, 1942), pp. 177-178.

²Harnett T. Kane, *Queen New Orleans: City By The River* (New York, 1949), p. 135.

She occasionally introduces nasalization into her voice for special effect, but normally there is not much present. Treatment of postvocalic /r/ varies; it may be lost, only slightly weakened, or somewhere in between. She was somewhat self-conscious in front of the recorder and used some unnatural pronunciations—*either* as /iðə/, instead of her usual /aɪðə/.

Informant: LA 22, Negro man, aged 62

Informant's father was a Creole Negro born in New Orleans to parents from New Orleans. His mother came from a plantation in an English-settled part of the state; informant was vague about its exact location or the origin of maternal grandparents. Informant himself was born in New Orleans and has never lived anywhere else. Travel has been limited to near-by parts of Louisiana. He has a fifth grade education. For many years he was a gardener for a government building; at the time of the interview for this study, he was a gardener for Loyola University.

Postvocalic /r/ is absent. He was not noticeably self-conscious in front of the recorder and seemed to be using a fairly natural style of speech.

<i>Community:</i>	The Irish Channel, New Orleans [nù ʃlənɪz]
<i>Population:</i>	No figures available
<i>Percent Negro:</i>	No figures available
<i>Parish:</i>	Orleans [ɔlɪnz]
<i>State:</i>	Louisiana [ləwɪziˈeɪnə]

There were already Irishmen living in Louisiana during the Spanish domination of the colony. An accurate estimate of their numbers

is not possible because before 1820, the Irish, Scots, and English who came in were all lumped together as English. But hundreds of Irish names are recorded in the Spanish archives on the colony of Louisiana in Seville. It is probable that most of these earliest Irish immigrants were fairly well assimilated into the French population if they settled in the country parishes; within New Orleans their chance of retaining their heritage was better. Between 1840 and 1870, great social prejudice arose against the Irish in New Orleans, who ranked first among European groups entering the port of New Orleans at that time.¹ Some went on to Natchez and Bayou Sara, but others remained in the city, segregating themselves in a sort of community-within-a-community which came to be known as the "Irish Channel."

There is a good deal of confusion among native New Orleanians over what the boundaries of the Irish Channel are. Originally the Channel consisted of one street, Adele Street, which ran between St. Thomas and Tchoupitoulas Streets. The street is now inhabited by Negroes, and the Irish have spread to other areas. A conservative estimate of its mid-twentieth century extent would set the boundaries at Magazine Street, the river, Jackson Avenue, and Felicity Street.² A less conservative estimate sets the boundaries at St. Joseph Street, Magazine Street, the river, and Louisiana Avenue.³ The Irish Channel

¹*Gumbo Ya-Ya*, by the Writers' Project, Louisiana (Cambridge, Mass., 1945), pp. 51-52.

²*Gumbo Ya-Ya*, pp. 50-51.

³Kane, p. 363.

informants for this study lived between Jackson Avenue and Louisiana Avenue, outside the narrow boundaries of the conservative estimate and as far as twelve or fifteen blocks from Adele Street. Yet they claimed to be long-standing residents of the Irish Channel, justifying at least to some extent the less conservative estimate.

Original immigrants to the Channel sought work as roustabouts loading and unloading ships along the river. Their descendants seldom follow the same pursuits, but most of them are still laborers of one kind or another, tough, happy, fun-loving people whose entire attention seems to have two annual focal points: Mardi Gras and St. Patrick's Day.

Informant: LA 42, Caucasian man, aged 47

Informant was born in the Irish Channel, which was also his mother's birthplace. His father was born in Ward 17, New Orleans. Further family history is not available. He has an elementary school education, has not lived outside the Irish Channel, nor traveled to other states besides Louisiana. He works for the New Orleans sanitation department as a garbage truck driver and has a part-time job as bartender in a small neighborhood bar. He is a great favorite among habitués of the bar as a jokester and storyteller.

He was recommended as a typical speaker of the dialect of the Irish Channel, which is said to sound almost the same as that of Brooklyn. His recording confirms that impression especially in respect to the diaphones of /æ/ and /ɜ/, in the use of dental varieties of

/t/ and /d/ in *th*-function words, and in the treatment of /r/. But /aɪ/ in his speech is unlike any other regional variety but southern Louisiana. Informant distinguishes between /ɔɪ/ and /ɜ/ ([ɜɪ]). For at least some Irish Channel speakers, the two fall together as [ɜɪ] in preconsonantal position, as in *oil*, *boil*, *oyster*, and some other words. He did not use a casual conversational style on the recording, but employed the kind of declamatory speech patterns he used telling stories and giving mock speeches in the bar where he worked.

Informant: LA 46, Caucasian man, aged 27

Informant's mother and maternal grandparents were born in the Irish Channel. His father was born in the same part of town, but his paternal grandparents emigrated from Germany. Informant himself was born in the Channel and has never lived anywhere else. He finished high school and studied for three years to be an architectural draftsman. He has traveled in the Southern states, and with his dance band was once sent to Honduras as part of an exchange program. He works as an IBM operator in the daytime and often plays with his band at nights in engagements in the New Orleans area.

His speech tempo is fairly slow and the vowel of an important word is often much lengthened for emphasis. Some phonetic characteristics typical of older residents of the Irish Channel seem to be weakened or lost to a degree in his speech.

Summary

The communities actually studied in Louisiana are essentially the same as the ones originally planned, with the exception that New Orleans counts as two. The numbers of young informants and informants of type III are greater than planned for reasons peculiar to conditions within the state. Communities are grouped as follows: urban communities, 10; rural communities, 8. In northern Louisiana, by the definition of that area given in Chapter I, there are 8 communities, of which 4 are rural and 4 are urban. In the Florida Parishes 3 communities were studied, 2 rural and 1 urban. In French Louisiana there were 5 communities, 2 rural and 3 urban. In New Orleans, the city as a whole counted as one community and the Irish Channel as another, both urban.

The 18 communities are represented in this study by 28 informants, who are about two-thirds of the total number of informants used in the Louisiana field work, and are all for whom tape recordings are available except 2. Recordings made by LA 27, DeQuincy, and LA 35, St. Martinville, were eliminated because of unnecessary duplication. Fourteen of the 28 informants represented urban communities and 14 represented rural ones. Their distribution by age group and educational level may be seen in Table 1.

The communities of northern Louisiana are represented by 12 informants, of whom 8 are old, 3 are middle-aged, and 1 is young. According to types, 6 are type I, 2 are type II, and 4 are type III.

Table 1. Informants by Type and Age

Type	Old	Middle	Young	Total
I	10	3	1	14
II	2	2	2	6
III	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>8</u>
Total	15	7	6	

In the Florida Parishes there are 5 informants, of whom 3 are old and two are middle-aged. Likewise, 3 are type I and 2 are type II. French Louisiana is represented by 7 informants, of whom 3 are old, 1 is middle-aged, and 3 are young. By types, 3 are type I, 1 is type II, and 3 are type III. New Orleans has 4 informants, of whom 1 is old, 1 is middle-aged, and 2 are young. Two of them are type I, 1 is type II, and 1 is type III.

Arrangement of informants by types solely on the basis of years of schooling completed is somewhat arbitrary, but probably less so than personal assessment by the fieldworker would be. But other factors besides schooling do enter into consideration, and for this reason the paragraphs describing informants are more important than mere grouping based on the number of days they have sat in a classroom. For example, LA 3, St. Francisville, who has a high school education, might actually be considered higher on Louisiana's social scale than LA 10, Jonesville, who spent three years at L. S. U. The difference lies partly in family background, partly in the character of the community.

In St. Francisville—and the same is true of Lake Providence, Clinton, and Natchitoches—people from certain families are expected to maintain a degree of culture and refinement whether or not financial conditions permit them to attend college. In Jonesville, Columbia, or Vienna, on the other hand, a person who showed off his learning too much might well be accused of putting on airs and trying to make himself better than other folks. A similar situation exists in New Orleans. There, LA 46, Irish Channel, is considered type III by virtue of his three years of specialized training after high school. But many New Orleanians would snub him and his entire neighborhood as inferior. A corollary of these social rules is that the dialects used by LA 46 and LA 10, who are both nominally type III, would be considered nonstandard by LA 23, New Orleans, and LA 3, St. Francisville, who are nominally type II. It is hoped, then, that the reader will be able to make his own assessment of the value of groupings here given by referring to the biographies.

Even with qualifying factors taken into account, however, the number of type III informants is somewhat higher than desirable. Ordinarily, they exhibit less regional variation in their speech than other types and fewer of them are required to achieve a representative sample. But in Louisiana, landed families whose members were likely to attend college are likely to remain in one location for generations, whereas families that depend on jobs or sharecropping or even merchandising for a livelihood tend to move around more. Therefore, individuals

with family backgrounds suitable to the requirements of field work were sometimes more numerous among the rich and educated than among the bulk of the population. A second factor, no less important, is that many people who had never been to college either considered the project a lot of foolishness or suspected the fieldworker's motives or believed themselves too ignorant to make any contribution, or all three. The fact that it was possible despite these limitations to find 14 informants of type I, together with the fact that 10 of those were age 60 or older in 1967-68, reflects the relatively poor educational prospects in Louisiana in the early part of the century. The relative paucity of type II informants, especially among the oldest group, reflects the old practice of either dropping out of school at an early age to work or continuing all the way through to college.

The fact that 6 out of 28 informants are young rather than the planned-for 10 percent was caused in part by the fact that the only native English-speakers in one originally French-speaking community were in the youngest generation. In other parts of the state, the availability of willing informants was the governing factor.

By race, 24 informants are Caucasian and 4 are Negro. No percentages had been set up beforehand for representation of separate races, except that it was not considered necessary to use the same percentage of Negro informants as the percentage of Negroes in the population. The Negro population is socially more homogeneous than the white, and, as in the case of type III informants, fewer are

required for a representative sample. Louisiana's population is 31.9 percent Negro; their representation among the informants for this study is proportionately about half that.

It should be remembered that the proportions of types and ages of informants aimed at in the field work were formulated for the special purpose of the *Dictionary of American Regional English*. That purpose was to find as many words as possible, with their variant meanings and pronunciations, that have regional or local distribution among conservative speakers of native American English. The purpose of this study is to discover variants in speech sounds within the state of Louisiana, using material gathered for the *Dictionary*. The distribution of informants as to type and age group is sufficient for that purpose. The distribution of 15, 7, and 6 in the old, middle, and young groups, respectively, is similar to the distribution of 14, 6, and 8 among types I, II, and III. Each region of the state is represented by a fairly representative cross section of its population, perhaps more fully so than if it had been possible to follow the projected figures exactly. Informants are not distributed thickly enough to permit accurate isoglosses to be drawn but there are enough of them to permit a fairly accurate description of the speech types used in each major region of the state.

CHAPTER III

INDIVIDUAL SPEECH PATTERNS

The tables which constitute the bulk of this chapter represent an inventory of the representative stressed vowel sounds found on each recording listed in the preceding chapter. Phonetic symbols are substantially the same as those used by Hans Kurath and Raven I. McDavid in *The Pronunciation of English in the Atlantic States*.¹ There are several reasons for using the Kurath-McDavid alphabet here. The first and by far the most important is that its use facilitates comparison with dialect studies done in other parts of the country. All the published *Linguistic Atlas* materials as well as most other dialect investigations use this adaptation of the International Phonetic Alphabet, commonly referred to as IPA. Furthermore, since IPA is widely current in other parts of the world, the transcriptions should be readily legible to foreign scholars. The fact that it was used, with minor modifications, for field transcriptions on the DARE questionnaires will make cross-checking with field records less of a chore than if two dissimilar alphabets were used. And finally, the alphabet used here, while capable of quite narrow transcription in its unmodified form, can be graded, by the use of shift marks and other diacritics, to a degree finer than the auditory discrimination of most fieldworkers.

¹Ann Arbor, 1961.

But after all, a phonetic alphabet is, in its aim at least, nothing more than a tool for recording sounds, and the choice of one over another has little more influence on theoretical matters than whether one chooses to make tape recordings on cassettes or reels. Each system offers certain sets of advantages and disadvantages, but ideally each is able to record the same information accurately. In actual practice, the fact that the continuous speech stream is represented by discrete written symbols is inevitably responsible for inexactness and distortion. The alphabet used here offends no more in this respect than does any other system of segmental symbols.

Table 2 has been included as a supplement to the key to symbols on pp. x-xiv. It shows diagrammatically the approximate relative placement of vowels in the oral cavity. The reader will note that only one symbol [ʁ] is provided here for vowels lower than [ɔ] and farther back than [ɑ], whereas Kurath and McDavid provide two symbols to differentiate between rounded and unrounded vowels in that approximate position. It was thought advisable to drop one of the symbols because it was difficult to distinguish consistently between rounded and unrounded low back vowels from tapes alone, without viewing lip position. The symbol [ʁ] was retained on the basis of its similarity to the phonemic symbol / ʁ / used for the vowel which develops from historical / qʁ / when / ʀ / is lost. In Louisiana such vowels are usually articulated in low back position; hence a desirable correspondence between phonetic and phonemic notation is achieved.

Table 2. The Vowel Quadrangle

	Front	Central	Back
High	$i(y)$ $I(Y)$	$i(tt)$ $I(TT)$	(u) $y(U)$
Mid	e ϵ	$\partial\partial r$ $3(\theta)$	(o) (θ) λ
Low	α a	ϵ d	(O) γ

Phonemes are abstract units used to classify actual speech sounds. The major value of the present study is expected to be in the phonetic descriptions given; the phonemes employed here may best be thought of as rubrics under which descriptions are arranged to facilitate the kind of comparisons attempted. They are not proposed as elements in a theory of language structure.

As in the case of the phonetic alphabet, the phonemic symbols used here are substantially the same as those used by Kurath and McDavid. The reason is much the same—they are the symbols used by most previous studies of American dialects. Furthermore, since in the case of vowels it is syllabic nuclei that are being compared, it is convenient to employ a system which categorizes the nuclei as units. This alphabet does so, proposing eighteen syllabic nuclei and providing an equal number of phonemic symbols to indicate them. Although some of the symbols are digraphs, they nonetheless designate unit categories.

Even though they are used here chiefly as a convenience, unitary segmental phonemes are the basis for a systematic phonological analysis by many descriptive linguists. For comparison with this study the most useful exposition of such an analysis is Hans Kurath, *A Phonology and Prosody of Modern English*.¹

Other phonological systems may offer certain advantages, depending on the use made of them. The best-known competing segmental

¹Ann Arbor, 1964.

phonemic system is the binary one employed by George Leonard Trager and Henry Lee Smith, Jr.,¹ which breaks down the English vowel system into twelve phonemes which may be combined to form thirty-six syllabic nuclei. That system offers the advantage of providing more phonetic information in the phonemic notation than does the one used here, but the greater number of nuclei possible in the analysis and the consequent reduced degree of generality make it somewhat less efficient as an aid to reference and comparison.

A theoretical objection to segmental phonemic systems of any variety is that the speech model they provide does not accurately represent the continuous nature of the speech stream. The tongue, lips, and jaw move smoothly from position to position throughout the articulation of the word *ban*, for example, but only three points in the movement are symbolized in the transcription /bæ̃n/. Discrete symbols are said to lead to the assumption that sounds too are discrete, whereas in many cases it is the transitions in the speech stream between the points symbolized that carry the greatest load of information.² In practice, the theoretical objection amounts to little, since transitions can be assumed, just as smooth slopes can be assumed from the proper arrangement of discrete contour lines on a topographic map.

¹*An Outline of English Structure* (Norman, Oklahoma, 1951).

²Experiments illustrating this principle are described by André Malécot, "Vowel Nasality as a Distinctive Feature in American English," *Language*, 36 (1960), 222-229.

Transformational generative grammar does not posit segmental phonemes as structural units at all. Rather, its phonology serves to connect the surface grammatical structure of a language and its phonetic realization, so that phonological rules are sensitive to grammatical classes and structure. The basic phonological units are the distinctive features which, in various combinations, make up what have traditionally been thought of as phonetic segments. In theory, distinctive feature analysis permits a more accurate model of the continuous speech stream than analyses based purely on segmental phonemes because the features are not sequential but simultaneous. A given feature may continue through an entire word, as +voice does in *ban*, while other features change to indicate successive changes in lip and tongue position. Furthermore, as they approach the phonetic level, the features acquire a range of multiple values; a sound is not just voiced or voiceless, but has some relative degree of voicing. But distinctive feature transcriptions are so difficult to read that generative grammarians find it expedient to use segmental symbols to stand for bundles of features even though it is the features that are structurally relevant.

The most comprehensive explanation of English phonology in transformational generative terms is *The Sound Pattern of English*, by Noam Chomsky and Morris Halle.¹ By using as constants grammatical forms different dialects share, and by categorizing phones according to any of a large set of distinctive features, generative grammar

¹New York, 1968.

offers a degree of generality greater than that of either of the other systems mentioned. The principle of its application to the problems of dialect study is illustrated in Robert D. King's *Historical Linguistics and Generative Grammar*.¹ Since texts alone, especially limited texts like the DARE recordings, do not provide enough information for the writing of generative grammars, generative phonological analysis cannot very well be employed here. Furthermore, generative grammarians are still in the process of refining theory. It may be some time before a new idiom for dialect study is built on the grammatical base which is still being developed.

For the present, as in the past, a practical alphabet is indispensable for dialect work. A few additional comments must be made about the phonemic notation used in this study: two symbols used by Kurath and McDavid have been omitted. The symbol they use for New England short *o* has not been used here, since apparently none of the DARE informants distinguish between two mid back rounded phones. The other symbol omitted is the one designating the low back vowel phoneme intermediate between /a/ and /ɔ/ common in such words as *cot* and *caught* when they are homophones. Some words which had short /ɔ/ in Middle English do, in certain Louisiana idiolects, have vowels intermediate between /a/ and /ɔ/, but such vowels appear to fall together with the vowel that develops from earlier /ar/. The best example is found on the recording of LA3, St. Francisville, where the

¹Englewood Cliffs, N. J., 1969, pp. 28-39.

utterance "I can't mock 'em like some people . . ." is easily misinterpreted as "I can't mark 'em like some people . . ." until the context establishes the meaning *imitate* for the word pronounced [mɑ̃k]. The possibility that this informant and others make contrasts that escape the ears of a stranger with a weak intuitive grasp of the niceties of the dialect should not be discounted. A future investigation might well clarify the relationship of low back vowels in Louisiana speech by testing minimal pairs against the intuition of native informants. Such a project is outside the scope of the present study, however. As far as can be determined on the basis of present purely phonetic evidence, it is necessary to posit only one distinctive vowel in the position between /ɑ/ and /ɔ/.

The omission of two vowel phonemes is responsible for one of the differences in format between these tables and the ones supplied by Kurath and McDavid. Since both columns are removed from one side of the table, the relative placement of phonetic symbols on the grid is affected more than if the omissions were balanced on either side of the center. The information which the tables represent is responsible for another difference. The earlier study was based on a single list of items from a questionnaire, so that the words on each table are the same. This study is based on free conversation, so that the list of words must be different in each case.

The primary purpose of the tables is to illustrate the typical range of vowel articulations in typical phonetic environments for each informant. The lists of words vary in length for two reasons. Some

informants use a wider range of variants than others and thus require more examples to illustrate their speech patterns. In addition, some recordings are longer than others and make more examples available.

Words are arranged in roughly etymological groups in an order corresponding to the order of phonemes across the top and bottom of the grid. Symbols for the stressed vocalic nucleus of each word are entered in the cell of the grid corresponding to the word and the phoneme in whose articulatory range the nucleus falls. In those words with more than one stressed syllable, the orthographic symbol for the vowel nucleus represented in the grid is italicized.

Certain conventions followed in the transcriptions should be noted. More emphasis is laid on tongue position than on other features. Because English vowels vary in length so radically according to stress, length is marked only if a vowel is unusually long for the degree of stress it has. Although vowels are regularly nasalized before nasal consonants in the same morpheme, as in *seen* as opposed to *see nothing*, nasalization is marked only when no consonantal nasal phone is present. In words like *hair*, *part*, and *more*, the phone which develops from the historical consonant /r/ in final position or before another consonant is transcribed as part of the vocalic nucleus. In words like *fairy* and *story*, the phone that develops from historical /r/ is not represented as part of the preceding nucleus; it is treated instead as the onset of the next syllable. Since /j/ in the sequence /ju/ is sometimes dialectally relevant, it too, is represented on the tables when it is present phonetically.

An attempt has been made to select examples under similar conditions of stress and intonation. Differences in vowel sounds are generally easiest to hear when the intonation level changes on a syllable with primary stress. A typical example of that environment is the syllable *one* in the sentence, "That was in twenty-one," LA 28, DeQuincy. The pitch of the informant's voice remains essentially level from *that* through *twenty*, then rises to the highest and falls to the lowest level on *one*. Whenever possible, examples to illustrate vowel articulations were transcribed from similar environments. Some vowels have different allophones in final and nonfinal syllables. But monosyllables may have the nonfinal allophone if another word follows closely. In some instances, for example *make 'em* on Table 4, two words are given to show that the vowel represented is, in effect, in a nonfinal syllable.

It is emphasized that the examples tabulated are selective rather than exhaustive. In the discussions of phonemes in the following chapter, examples from Tables 3 through 30 will regularly be cited, although other examples transcribed from the tapes but not selected for tabulation will be used as well. It is felt, however, that sufficient examples have been included here to provide a graphic outline of the range of articulations in the idiolect of each informant described in Chapter II.

Table 3. LA 8, Lake Providence

	i	l	e	ɛ	ɜ	æ	ʌ	ɑ	ai	ɔi	au	ɔ	ʌ	o	u	u	
seed	ij															jɛu	mules
beans	i:															u:	school
keeps	i															jɛu	new
apiece	Il																
clear		Iʔ														Uʔ	foot
thing				ɛ												U	roof
mill		Iʔ														U	stood
gin		Iʔ															
discs		I												oʔ			old
stick		I												oʔ			motor
inches						æɪ								oʔ			more
days			eɪ											oʔ			most
bale			eɪ											oʔ			holes
places			eɪ											oʔ			over
game			eɪ											oʔ			course
favor			eɪ											oʔ			
said			e										ʌɪ				udging
dead			eɪ														(marble
then		Iʔ															term)
mens		Iʔ											ʌʌ				up
"L"				ɛɪ									ʌʌ				love
them				ɛɪ									ʌʌ				trucks
care				ɛɪ									ʌʌ				dubs
dirt					ɜɪ								ʌ				love
turning					ɜɪ							ɔɪ					smaller
turns					ɜɪ							ɔ					want
work					ɜɪ							ɔ					all
church					ɜɪ						au						trout
have						æɪ					au						now
half						æɪ					au						down
after						æɪ					au						round
bad						æɪ					au						out
hand						æɪ				ɔɪ							toy
man						æɪ				ʌɪ							joint
can						æɪ				ɔɪ							joy
carry						æ				ɔɪ							poison
harrow							ɑ			ɔɪ							boy
parts						æɪ		ɑɪ									joists
marble						æɪ		ɑɪ									join
job							ɑ	ɑɪ									right
lots							ɑ	ɑɪ									slide
knock							ɑ	ɑɪ									five
cotton							ɑ	ɑɪ									time
								ɑɪ									desires
								ɑɪ									nice
	i	l	e	ɛ	ɜ	æ	ʌ	ɑ	ai	ɔi	au	ɔ	ʌ	o	u	u	

Table 4. LA 12, Vienna

[illegible]

Table 5. LA 17, Mansfield

[illegible]

Table 6. LA 2, Columbia

	i	l	e	ɛ	3	ʒ	ɔ	ai	ɔi	au	ɔ	ʌ	o	u	
seen	i													u	loose
see	i													ju	mule
tree	Ii													ʃu	shoot
creek	i													ʃu	sue
believe	Ii													ʃu	stooped
beef	i														
														ʋʌ	woods
killed		Iʌ												ʋʌ	wolf
steers		Iʌ												ʋ	pull
did		Iʌ												ʋ	jury
swing			ɛʌ									ʏ			good
														ʋʌ	good
crazy			ɛʌ												
names			eʌ										oʌ		stove
chain			eʌ										oʌ		rope
way			ɛʌ										oʌ		pole
													oʌ		road
then		Iʌ											oʌ		afore
set			ɛʌ										oʌ		more
them			ɛʌ										oʌ		board
self			ɛʌ												
help			ɛʌ									ʌʌ			judge
leopard			ɛ									ʌʌ			tongue
												ʏʌ			month
jerk			ɛʌ									ʌʌ			gun
turkey			3ʌ									ʌʌ			hushed
squirrel			ɔ									ʌʌ			buck
burnt			3ʌ									ʌ			run
cur			3ʌ												
curdog			3								ɔʌ				dog
work			3ʌ								ɔ				caught
											ɔʌ				log
cat					ʌʌ						ɔ				walking
black					ʌ										
tan					ʌʌ					ʌʌ					house
laughed					ʌʌ					ʌʌ					hound
										ʌʌ					now
barrel					ʌ				ɔʌ						pointers
cargo						ɔʌ									
							a:								priars
jolly							a	ai							mind
not							a	ai							lines
								ai							I
								ai							rice
								ai							right
	i	l	e	ɛ	3	ʒ	ɔ	ai	ɔi	au	ɔ	ʌ	o	u	

Table 7. LA 1, Columbia

[illegible]

Table 8. LA 10, Jonesville

	i	l	e	ɛ	3	æ	ɔ	ɑ	ai	ɔi	au	ɔ	ʌ	o	u	
three	Ii														ju	mules
beans	i														vu	move
meat	i														vu	too
fields	iɛ														u	school
here	jɛ															
year	Iɛ													Vɛ		foot
fifth	Iɛ													Vɛ		good
did	Iɛ															
sick	I													0v		mostly
lint	Iɛ													0v		boat
timber				ɛɛ										0v		four
brings						æɛ								0ɛ		more
acres			eɪ													
raised			eɪ										ʌɛ			fun
raised			e										ʌɛ			money
sales			eɪ										ʌɛ			up
main			eɪ										ʌ			busters
freight			eɪ													
red				ɛɛ							ɔɛ					logs
sell				ɛɛ							ɔɛ					dogs
very				ɛɪ							ɔɛ					hogs
reckon				ɛ							ɔɛ					Walker
cents	Iɛ										ɔ					forty
scared				ɛɛ							ɔ					all
bear						æɛ					ɔɛ					corn
worlds					3											
stern					3ɛ						æɛ					about
girls					3						æɛ					thousand
girls					ʌɛ						æɛ					down
calf						æɪ										
calves						æɪ										
plant						æɪ					ɔɛ					boys
plank						æɪ					ɔɪ					boys
black						æ										
Angus						æ										
started									ai							right
marks									ai							wife
farm									ai							times
cotton									ai							like
crop									ai							buy
	i	l	e	ɛ	3	æ	ɔ	ɑ	ai	ɔi	au	ɔ	ʌ	o	u	

Table 9. LA 11, Jonesville

	i	ɪ	e	ɛ	ɜ	æ	ʌ	ɑ	ai	ɔi	au	ɔ	ʌ	o	u	u	
read	Ij															ʋu	through
believed	Ii															ʋu	new
																u	juice
him	Iə																
fish	I														ʋ		look
year	Iə														ʋ		butcher
sit	Iə														ʋ		cook
thing						æɪ											
think						æɪ									oʋ		okra
															oʋ		gumbo
flavors			ɛɪ												oʋ		home
tastes			ɛɪ												oʋ		over
day			ɛɪ												oə		four
baby			ɛɪ												oə		porch
ten	Iə												ʌʌ				comes
set			ɛ										ʌ				gumbo
eleven			ɛ														
very			ɛ									ɔə					all
beds			ɛə									ɔə					thaw
chairs						æɪ						ɔə					corn
												ɔə					bought
words					ɜ							ɔə					horses
squirrels					ɜə												
work					ɜ						au						down
church					ɜ						au						our
girl					ɜə						auə						our
thirty					ɜ						əu						house
plant						æɪ				ɔɛ							boil
that						æə				ɔɛ							boys
bags						æɪ											
calf						æɪ			ai								nicer
black						æ			ai								spice
									ai								ride
parts						æə			ai								five
large						æə			ai								I
barn						æə											
hard						a:											
want												ɔ					
squash								a									
top								a									
water								a									
lot								a									
	i	ɪ	e	ɛ	ɜ	æ	ʌ	ɑ	ai	ɔi	au	ɔ	ʌ	o	u	u	

Table 10. LA 14, Natchitoches

	i	I	e	E	ɜ	æ	ʌ	a	ai	ci	au	o	A	O	U	u	
meat	i															u	school
tea	i															ju	use
Smith		I ^a													v ^a		sure
wicker		I													V		books
here		I ^{ae}															
friendly		I												0 ^a			bore
think		I												0 ^y			ago
day			e ^{vi}											0 ^a			reporters
paper			e ^{vi}											0 ^y			told
strange			e ^{vi}										A				cousins
													A				southern
length		I															
care				E ^a								C ^a					Mormon
bare						x ^a						C ^q					talking
sheriff				E								C ^q					all
next				E								C ^a					warm
spelt				E ^a													
dead				E ^a													
											av						house
were					3						av						loud
earth				3I ^a							av						scouts
heard				3													
world				3													
learn				3													
church				3I ^a													
										ci							hoity-
aunt						x ^a				ci							toity
parish						x ^a				ci							joists
grammar						x ^a											
back						x ^a											
carry						x ^a											
heart							d										
charming							d		a ^a								retired
yard							d		a ⁱ								by
correspondents							d		ai								type
									ai								night
Rogers								a	a ⁱ								times
rotted								a									
water													C				
	i	I	e	E	ɜ	æ	ʌ	a	ai	ci	au	o	A	O	U	u	

Table 11. LA 15, LeCompte

	i	l	e	ɛ	3	æ	ɔ	ai	ɔi	au	ɔ	ʌ	o	u	u	
three	i														juu	mules
bean	i														tu	two
people	i														u	roof
year		I ²													U	foot
here		I ²													U	sugar
children		I ²													U	crooked
living		I													U	bulls
bills		I ²													U ²	stood
fishing		I ²													U ²	good
his		I ²														
gin		I ²														
thing						æ									O ²	going
															O ²	four
															O	more
eight			e ²												O ²	polls
again			e ²												O ²	go
away			e ²													
raised			e:												Y	shucks
															Y	bud
tended		I ²													ʌ	done
better				ɛ											Y ²	cull
well				ɛ ²											Y	cull
Texas				ɛ												
everything				ɛ												
words					3										O ²	corn
thirty					3										O ²	all
work					3										O	forty
ruin					3 ²										O ²	stalk
firm					3 ²										O ²	normal
search					3 ²											dog
squirrels					3											
cattle						æ										out
damp						æ ²										house
attack						æ										down
pair						æ										ground
grass						æ ²										flowers
calves						æ ²										
barn							ɔ ²									soybeans
dark							ɔ ²									choice
cotton																wife
crop																mind
																afire
																cyclone
	i	l	e	ɛ	3	æ	ɔ	ai	ɔi	au	ɔ	ʌ	o	u	u	

Table 12. LA 16, LeCompte

	i	l	e	ɛ	3	æ	ɔ	ai	ji	au	ɔ	ʌ	o	u	
keenly	i													u	schoolwork
either	i													u	school
sleep	Ii													uə	school
real	iə													ituu	student
														u	cooped
years	Iə														
missed	Iə												ʊə		lure
kid	Iə												ʊə		poor
films	Iə												ʊ		shook
really	I														
think	I												0ʊ		salome
bream	Iə												0ʊ		Oklahoma
													0ʊ		Oklahoma
stay			eɪ										0ʊ		told
baby			eʌ										0ʊ		boat
lake			eɪ										0ʊ		no
													0		story
tell			ɛə												
help			ɛə									ʌə			one
yes			ɛv									ʌ			love
there			ɛə									ʌ			hunted
dress			ɛə									ʌ			governor
care			ɛə												
alert					ʒ						ɔ				saw
work					ʒ						ɔ				bought
thirty					ʒ						ɔə				offers
											ɔə				horse
carry			ɛ								ɔə				war
married						æ					ɔə				lost
captain						æ									
chance						æɪ									
bass						æɪ				æʊ					house
paddled						æ				æʊ					out
that						æə				æv					proud
barrow							ɔə								
								ɔɪ							enjoy
dark							ɔə	ɔɛ							voice
sorry							ɔ								
large							ɔə								
								æə							desires
job							ɔ	æɪ							fine
college							ɔ	æɪ							I
not							ɔ	æɪ							night
rotted							ɔ	æɪ							writing
	i	l	e	ɛ	3	æ	ɔ	ai	ji	au	ɔ	ʌ	o	u	

Table 13. LA 29, DeQuincy

	i	l	e	ɛ	3	æ	ɔ	a	ai	ɔi	au	ɔ	ʌ	o	u	u	
team	i															ʊu	moved
three	Ii															ʊu	do
meat	Ii															u	new
see	Ii															u	roof
did		Iɔ															
killed		Iɔ													V		butchering
Jim		Iɔ													ʊɔ		woods
kick		I													ʊ		sugar
skinning		I															
here		Iɔ												ʊɔ			oldest
nearly		ʊɔ												ʊɔ			old
clear				ɛɔ										ʊɔ			whoa
thing						æɔ								ʊɔ			boner
way			eɔ											ʊɔ			roast
day			eɔ											ʊɔ			four
cane			eɔ														
brain			eɔ										ʊɔ				one
men		Iɔ											ʊ				stuff
left				ɛɔ									ʌ				brother
else				ɛɔ									ɛɔ				young
well				ɛɔ									ʌ				stumps
dead				ɛɔ									ʌ				gum
engine						æɔ											
care				ɛɔ										ʊɔ			morning
where					ɔ							ɔɔ					long
worked					ɔ							ɔɔ					rosin
world					ɔɔ							ɔɔ					logging
wagon						æ						ɔɔ					horses
half						æɔ											
nasty						æɔ											town
have						æɔ					æɔ						thousands
married						æ					æɔ						now
land						æɔ					æɔ						now
hard												ɔɔ					
tomorrow												ɔ					
water							a										
shop												ɔ					
oxen								a	aɔ								riding
ox								a	aɔ								five
cotton								a	aɔ								pine
got								a	aɔ								white
									aɔ								miles
									aɔ								time
									ai								driving
	i	l	e	ɛ	3	æ	ɔ	a	ai	ɔi	au	ɔ	ʌ	o	u	u	

Table 14. LA 28, DeQuincy

	i	ɪ	e	ɛ	ɜ	æ	ʌ	ɑ	ai	ɔi	au	ɔ	ʌ	o	u	
street	Ii														u	school
depot	Ii														ju	new
															Iu	due
mint		I														
chickens		I														
thing			ɛɪ												V	books
live		Iɪ													Uɪ	foot
built		Iɪ														
clear		Iɪ														
think						æɪ									Oʊ	smoke
															Oʊ	rolls
came			ɛɪ												Oʊ	home
later			ɛɪ												Oʊ	know
raised			ɛɪ												Oʊ	floor
end		Iɪ														
lemon				ɛ									ʌɪ			lunch
them				ɛɪ									ʌɪ			one
head				ɛɪ									ʌɪ			up
Bell's				ɛɪ												
hair			ɛɪ													
hair				ɛɪ												
care				ɛɪ												hog
ferry				ɛɪ												salt
girl					ɜɪ											coffee
hurt					ɜɪ											forty
church					ɜɪ											horse
parents				ɛɪ												out
crackling						æ										town
fat						æɪ										now
tracks						æɪ										hour
chance						æɪ										
afternoon						æɪ										
last						æɪ										joy
																enjoy
march																
part																
									æɪ							lye
pot								ɑ	æɪ							grind
									ɑɪ							right
	i	ɪ	e	ɛ	ɜ	æ	ʌ	ɑ	ai	ɔi	au	ɔ	ʌ	o	u	

Table 15. LA 3, St. Francisville

	i	l	e	ɛ	3	æ	ɔ	ai	ɔi	au	ɔ	ʌ	o	u	u	
seafood	i														u	horseshoe
tree	i														u	pools
week	i														u	food
															tu	too
river		I														
years		I ^a												U ^a		dogwood
fish		I												V		sugar
here		I ^ɔ												V		bulls
here		I ^ɛ												V		should
deer		I ^a												V ^a		sure
king				ɛ												
thing				ɛ ^a												
													O ^a			boats
raised													O ^a			road
cane			e ^a										O			homes
day			e ^a										O ^a			restored
lake			e ^a										O			before
jail			e ^a										O ^a			coarser
																old
area			e								ɔ					only
then		I ^a											ʌ ^a			
head				ɛ ^a									ʌ ^a			run
cemetery				ɛ									ʌ ^a			sun
													ʌ			blood
turkey					ɔ ^a											country
squirrel					ɔ ^a											
earlier					ɔ ^a											halls
turn					ɔ ^a											coffee
																dogs
dances						æ ^a										corn
palaces						æ										
parish						æ										now
pad						æ										about
land						æ										down
blanket						æ										south
stands						æ ^a										house
park							ɔ									enjoyment
farm							ɔ ^a									soil
start									a ^a							miles
garden									a ^a							line
spot									a ^a							feist
fox									a ^a							right
bond									a ^a							died
mock									a ^a							wife
																drive
	i	l	e	ɛ	3	æ	ɔ	ai	ɔi	au	ɔ	ʌ	o	u	u	

Table 16. LA 5, St. Francisville

	i	l	e	ɛ	3	æ	ɔ	a	ai	ci	au	ɔ	ʌ	o	u	u	
eel-cat	iə															vu	gou (fish)
eat	Ii															vu	spoonbills
deep	i															vu	choupique
pieces	Ii															vu	flues
mean	Ii														v		bullhead
here			iə												v		looking
river			Ii												ʏ		look
bigger			I												vi		push
bream			Ii												v		hooks
years			Iə												Uə		good
sinker						æi									v		hoop
strings						æi									u		pirogue
tail			eia												oə		more
bait			eia												oə		gourd
way			ɛi												oʏə		board
same			ɛʏi												oʏə		no
lakes			eia												oʏə		those
seine			eia												oʏə		boat
west				ɛə									ʌ				mud
red				ɛə									ʌ				Southern
webbing				ɛ									ʌ				done
shell				ɛə									ʌʏə				hull
them		Iʌ											ʌʏə				bumpy
worms					3								ʌʏə				company
current					3							ɔɔ					caught
turtle					3							ɔ					war
turn					3							ɔ					horse
sturgeons					3							ɔə					forked
shad						æə						ɔə					shorter
families						æ						ɔɔ					frog
bass						æi						ɔə					swamps
bank						æi						ɔɔ					crawfish
snap						æə					aʏ						round
sand						æia					awə						hour
cat						æə					aʏ						thousand
catches				ɛ							æə						trout
carp							ɔə					aə					pound
gar							ɔ				ɔə						boiling
start							ɔə				ʌ						pointed
market							ɔə				ʌi						point
ponds												ɔ					
goggle								a	aɪ								live
lot								a	a								kinds
follow								a	aɪ								like
bottom								a	ai								types
	i	l	e	ɛ	3	æ	ɔ	a	ai	ci	au	ɔ	ʌ	o	u	u	

Table 17. LA 7, Clinton

	i	ɪ	e	ɛ	3	æ	ʌ	ɑ	ai	ɔi	au	ɔ	ʌ	o	u	u	
eating	i															u	shoot
feeding	i															tu	juice
me	Ii																
see	Ii															vʌ	could
glister		I														v	cook
pigs		I														v	push
rig		I															
give		Iʌ														oʌ	door
deers		Iʌ														oʌ	boar
thing						æʌ										oʌ	told
mill		Iʌ															
name			ɛʌ														
late			eʌ													ʌ	stubbing
cane			ɛʌʌ													ʌʌ	jugs
game			ɛʌ													ʌʌ	shut
bales			eʌʌ													ʌ	up
there			ɛʌ													ʌʌ	stump
where						ʌ										ʌʌ	young
yet			ɛʌʌ														
kettle		I										ɔʌ					calls
dirt						3ʌ						ɔ					often
worm						3ʌ						ɔʌ					wrong
early						3ʌ						oʌʌ					corn
syrup						3ʌ						ɔʌʌ					morning
thirty						3											
shirt						3ʌ											
work						3ʌ											
black						æ						ʌʌ					plow
fat						æʌʌ						ʌʌ					sow
barrel						æʌ						ʌʌʌ					trout
catching			ɛ														hours
cans						æʌ											
barrow								ɑ		pi							point
farming								ɑʌ		ɔʌ							oil
part								ɑʌ		ɔʌ							boys
farm								ɑʌ									
large								ɑʌ									
bother								ɑ									
shop								ɑ	ai								time
pecans								ɑ	ai								knife
								ɑ									wire
								ɑ:									iron
	i	ɪ	e	ɛ	3	æ	ʌ	ɑ	ai	ɔi	au	ɔ	ʌ	o	u	u	

Table 18. LA 6, Clinton

	i	ɪ	e	ɛ	ɜ	æ	ʌ	ɑ	ai	ɔi	au	ɔ	ʌ	o	u	u	
be																u	through
pieces																u	do
meat																	
beans															u		foot
peel it															u		good
here		ɪ													u		cook
middle		ɪ															
lick		ɪ												o			stove
tin		ɪ												o			row
thing						æ								o			throw
lid		ɪ												o			boards
break			ɛ											o			boards
potatoes			ɛ											o			home
stay			ɛ											o			soda
taste			ɛ											o			more
baking			ɛ														
them		ɪ											ʌ				nothing
end		ɪ											ʌ				up
there			ɛ										ʌ				one
nutmeg			ɛ										ʌ				cull
bread			ɛ										ʌ				butter
neck			ɛ										ʌ				lumps
measure			ɛ										ʌ				come
furrow					ɜ												
turning					ɜ							ɔ					daughter
dirt					ɜ							ɔ					horse
stir					ɜ							ɔ					hogs
hand						æ						ɔ					call
that						æ						ɔ					salt
daddy						æ											
wagon						æ					æ						brown
bag						æ					æ						plow
bank						æ					æ						out
pan						æ					æ						pound
pan						æ											
harrow						æ					ɔ						boiled
lard							ɔ				ɔ						boiled
hard							ɔ		ɑ	ɑ							slide
got								ɑ	ɑ								behind
drop								ɑ	ɑ								right
job							ɔ		ɑ								fry
hot							ɔ		ɑ								time
Pods							ɔ		ɑ								slice
							ɔ										fire
							ɔ										iron
	i	ɪ	e	ɛ	ɜ	æ	ʌ	ɑ	ai	ɔi	au	ɔ	ʌ	o	u	u	

Table 19. LA 40, Hammond

	i	ɪ	e	ɛ	ɜ	æ	ʌ	ɑ	ai	ɔi	au	ɔ	ʌ	o	u	u	
me	i															u	do
green	ɪ															vu	do
meal	iə															uə	school
heat	i															u	school
milk	iə															Iu	use
year		iə														vu	through
mixed		I													V		butcher
thing		I													Və		wood
him		iə													U		cooks
skin		iə															though
bay			eɪ												oʊ		both
paid			e												oʊ		mostly
crates			eɪ												oʊ		home
shade			eɪ												oʊ		force
range			eɪ														mother
male			eɪə												ʌ		such
well				ɛə											ʌ		gum
Jeff				ɛə											ʌ		cut
said				ɛə													horse
them		iə													ɔ		hog
then		I													ɔ		haw
mare						æ									ɔə		morning
hair						æ									ɔ		sawmill
work					ɜ										ɔə		salt
heard					ɜ										ɔə		for
Jersey					ɜ						æ						ground
furrows					ɜə						av						about
Hammond						æ					av						out
aunt						æ					av						plow
cans						æ					avə						hour
bran						æ				ɔɛ							join
calf						æ				ɔi							joist
barrel						æ											
hardwoods															ɔə		
yard															ɔə		
starve															ɔə		
part															ɔə		
wash															ɔ		
water															ɔ		
father								ɑ	ɑə								fire
not								ɑ	ɑɪ								pine
stop								ɑ	ɑi								Bright's
									ɑɪ								life
									ɑɪ								try
	i	ɪ	e	ɛ	ɜ	æ	ʌ	ɑ	ai	ɔi	au	ɔ	ʌ	o	u	u	

Table 20. LA 33, St. Martinville

	i	ɪ	e	ɛ	ɜ	æ	ʌ	ɑ	ai	ɔi	au	ɔ	ʌ	o	u	u	
speak	i															u	tools
clean	i															u	cahoots
each	i															uə	school
meet	i															ju	music
here			ɪə													uə	good
string			ɪ													ʊ	wood
him			ɪə													ʊ	room
milk			ɪə														
															oʰ		home
parade			eɪ												oʰ		pirogue
day			e												o:		road
acorn			e												o		know
pray			e												o		glory
male			eə														
take			eɪ												ʌ		trucks
															ʌ		rub
end			ɪə														
well				ɛə								ɔʰ					along
pleasant				ɛ								ɔ					thought
area				ɛ								ɔʰ					born
get				ɛ								ɔ					lost
best				ɛə								ɔə					because
care				ɛə								ɔʰ					morning
air						æə		ɑ									orange
virgin					ʒə												
herbs					ʒ												
returned					ʒ						av						now
furniture					ʒ						av						town
											av						cows
catch						æ					avə						flowers
have						ɑ											
passes						ɑ											
rats						ɑ					ɔi						voice
											ɔi						choice
charm													ɔʰ				
far													ɔʰ				
clock													ɔʰ				
fathers													ɔʰ				
									ai								pie
wallet								ɑ	ɑʰ								irises
dollar								ɑ	ɑʰ								life
box								ɑ	ai								time
	i	ɪ	e	ɛ	ɜ	æ	ʌ	ɑ	ai	ɔi	au	ɔ	ʌ	o	u	u	

Table 21. LA 34, St. Martinville

	i	l	e	ɛ	ɜ	æ	ʌ	ɑ	ai	ɔi	au	ɔ	ʌ	o	u	u	
teeth	i															u	twoses
meeses	i																(marble
(marble																	term)
term)																u	choose
teams	i															ju	duty
stick		I														U	woods
finger		I														U	book
clear		Iθ															
crystal		I												o			row
														oθ			four
played			e											o ^u			over
take			e											o ^h			close
game			e														
baked			e										ʌ				upses
clay			e														(marble
player			e ^h														term)
													ʌ				hundred
chairs				ɛθ									ʌ				trouble
next				ɛ									ɔ ^h				drunks
peg				ɛ									ɔ				bunch
belt				ɛθ													
shells				ɛθ								ɔ ^h					order
care						æ ^h						ɔ					wall
												ɔ					taw
word					ɜ												(marble
worked					ɜ												term)
term					ɜ									ɔ ^h			wall
																	caught
batters						æ											
back						æ					awθ						our
act						æ					au						down
catch				ɛ							au						allowed
grass						æ ^h					auθ						powered
bars												ɔ					
start												ɔ ^h					
										ɔi							enjoy
watched								a		ɔi							joists
langer								ã									
(Fr. marble										ai							times
term)										ai							line
stop								a	ai								hide
block								a	ai								light
squat								a									
	i	l	e	ɛ	ɜ	æ	ʌ	ɑ	ai	ɔi	au	ɔ	ʌ	o	u	u	

Table 22. LA 25, Franklin

	i	ɪ	e	ɛ	ɜ	æ	ʌ	ɑ	aɪ	ɔɪ	au	ɔ	ʌ	o	u	
beans	i														iu	stew
meat	i														u	too
appeal	iə														u	soup
															u	food
mixed		I														
shrimp		Iə													Uə	would
thing		Iv													Uə	good
year		Iə														
milk		Iə												o		bones
														ov		gumbo
rain			e											Av		know
baking			eɪ											ov		clothes
gravy			e											oə		course
stay			eɪ											o		door
day			e													
													ʌ			gumbo
eggs			eɪ										ʌ			love
terrible				ɛ												
yet				ɛ							ɔ					salt
hair				ɛə							ɔ					crawfish
men				ɛ							ɔə					frogs
											ɔʌ					boss
firms					ɜɪ						ɔ					bought
work					ɜɪ						ɔ					cause
worthy					ɜɪ						ɔ					dogs
church					ɜɪ		a									horrible
her				ɜ												
bird				ɜ							av					powder
											av					brown
carrots						æ					awa					flour
have						æə					av					proud
have						ɛv					av					now
shafts						æʌ										
grass						æə				ɔɛ						oysters
cats						æə				ɔɛ						choice
track						æ										
hardly												ɔ				
hard												ɔ				
									aɪ							rice
dollars								a	aɪ							fry
watched								a	aɪ							white
									aɪ							fried
									aɪ							time
	i	ɪ	e	ɛ	ɜ	æ	ʌ	ɑ	aɪ	ɔɪ	au	ɔ	ʌ	o	u	

Table 23. LA 20, Donaldsonville

	i	ɪ	e	ɛ	ɜ	æ	ʌ	ɑ	aɪ	ɔɪ	aʊ	ɔ	ʌ	o	u	u	
pieces	i															u	juice
screen	iv															u	through
recipe	i																
															ʊ		full
															ʊ		room
															ʊ		cookies
filter		I															
near		I ^h												o ^h			cold
ears		I ^h												o ^h			stow
thing		I												o ^h			road
														o ^h			whole
														o ^h			four
														o ^h			pirogue
place			e											o ^h			don't
cane			e:														
quails			e ^h														
today			e:										ʌ				truck
													ʌ ^v				pump
then		I ^h															
dead				ɛ								ɔ					salt
there				ɛ ^h								ɔ:					warm
there				ɛ ^h								ɔ					crawfish
												ɔ					strong
perch					ɜ ^h												
burns					ɜ ^h						aʊ						down
											aʊ						brown
											aʊ						out
last					æ ^h												
that					æ												
pans					æ:				ɔɪ								boil
									ɔɪ								hoist
									ɔɪ								point
garlic												ɔ					
start												ɔ					
									aɪ								dry
top								a	aɪ								knives
odd								a									
shallots								a									
	i	ɪ	e	ɛ	ɜ	æ	ʌ	ɑ	aɪ	ɔɪ	aʊ	ɔ	ʌ	o	u	u	

Table 24. LA 31, Cameron

	i	ɪ	e	ɛ	ɜ	æ	ʌ	ɑ	ai	ɔi	au	ɔ	ʌ	o	u	u	
sea	Ii														ʊə		doing
reeves	i															u	coon
feet	i															u	nutria
freeze	Ii															ʊu	do
kill	Iə														ʌ		good
spring	I														ʌə		good
here	Iə														ʌ		good
ridge	I														ʌ		couldn't
finger			ɛI														
milk	Iə														oʊ		growth
since				ɛ											o		borings
															oʊ		open
cane			eI												oʊ		go
bait			eI												oʊ		coarser
tame			eI												oʊ		home
lake			e														
say			eI											ʌ			come
														ʌ:			gulf
fresh				ɛ										ʌ			pumps
shells				ɛə										ʌə			bulb
stem		Iə												ʌ			cut
pest				ɛə										ʌ			run
leg			ɛI														
bed				ɛə								ɔ					salt
help				ɛə											oʊ		horn
												ɔə					north
perch						ɜ						ɔə					tall
burn						ɜ						ɔə					cross
worth						ɜ											
burrow						ɜ:						ɔə					drouth
												ɔə					out
back						æ						ɔə					down
gnats						æə						ɔə					now
grass						æə											
rank						æ					ɔɛ						boy
half						æI					ɔI						oysters
hands						æə											
									ai								dry
marshes								əʊ	ai								tide
barn								əʊ	ai								like
rot								ə	ai								wild
job								ə	ai								sign
otter								ə	ai								wiped
otter								ə									
	i	ɪ	e	ɛ	ɜ	æ	ʌ	ɑ	ai	ɔi	au	ɔ	ʌ	o	u	u	

Table 25. LA 37, Grand Isle

[illegible]

Table 26. LA 36, Grand Isle

	i	l	e	ɛ	3	ʌ	ɔ	ai	ji	au	ɔ	ʌ	o	u	u	
peewees	i														u	shoots
eels	iə															
reason	i													ʊə		good
														ʊ		couldn't
in	Iə															
ring	I												o			also
here	Iə												ov			croakers
													o:			grown
place			e										oə			fort
play			e										oə			fort
keep-away			eɪ										ov			nose
blade			eɪ													
												ʌʊ				ugly
letter			ɛ									ʌʊ				sometimes
chenizere			ɛə													
them			ɛə							ɔ						song
there			ɛə							ɔ						also
men			ɛʌ							ɔ						caught
end			ɛ							ɔ						walls
										ɔə						storm
circle					3					ɔə						walk
girl					3ə											
turns					3					av						down
hurts					3					av						ground
										av						scouts
crabs					ʌ:											
laughing					ʌə											
basket					ʌ				ɔɪ							voice
can					ʌə				ɔɪ							join
lag					ʌə											
catch					ʌə											
mackerels					ʌ											
marbles										ɔə						
partner										ɔə						
yards										ɔə						
are										ɔə						
								ai								shy
everybody							ə	ai								light
bottle							ə	ai								like
got							ə	ai								skindivers
lot							ə	ai								sometimes
								ai								time
	i	l	e	ɛ	3	ʌ	ɔ	ai	ji	au	ɔ	ʌ	o	u	u	

Table 27. LA 23, New Orleans

	i	l	e	ɛ	3	æ	ɔ	ai	ɔi	au	ɔ	ʌ	o	u	u	
she	Ii														Vu	to
street	Ii														Uə	pools
either	ɪ														Vwə	school
															Vu	smooth
kids	I ^u														jVu	used
fifth	I ^ə														ʃu	do
many	I															
thick	I ^v														Və	pushed
thing				ɛ											Və	foot
think				ɛ											ʃ	shook
again			ɛ ⁱ										0 ^v			home
day			ɛ ⁱ										0 ^v			below
chains			ɛ ⁱ										0 ^ə			force
slaves			ɛ ⁱ										ʌ0			floats
against				ɛ									ʌ0			though
													0 ^v			though
never				ɛ									0 ^{və}			bored
there			ɛ ^ə													
repair			ɛ ^ə									ʌ				adults
stereo			ɛ									ʌ				punish
ten			ɛ ^ə									ʌ				covered
												ʌ ^ə				lunch
were					ʒ											
person					ʌ ^ə						ɔ					belong
											ɔ					absorb
fairy			ɛ								ɔ					ball
half						æ					ɔ ^ə					morning
lasts						æ ^ə					ɔ					log
dagger						æ										
back						æ				æ ^ə						now
slab						æ ^ə				əV						about
bank						ə				æ ^ə						down
adult						æ				əVə						hour
										əV						scouts
parties							ə ^ə									
parties							ə ^ə		ɔI							joint
are							ə:		ɔwə							joint
beyond							ə	əI								night
shop							ə	ə ^ə								pilot
washing							ə	ə ^ə								I
								ə ^ə								china
								ə ^ə								inside
								ə ^ə								time
	i	l	e	ɛ	3	æ	ɔ	ai	ɔi	au	ɔ	ʌ	o	u	u	

Table 28. LA 22, New Orleans

	i	ɪ	e	ɛ	ɜ	æ	ʌ	ɑ	ai	ɔi	au	ɔ	ʌ	o	u	u	
see	Ii														u		two
streets	i														tu		mule
people	i														u		costumes
															u		roux
thing	I														vu		soup
river	I														vi		Rouge
here	I ^ə														u ^ə		foot
with it	I														ʏ		shook
pickles	I														ʏ		room
															o		float
days			e ^v												o ^v		floats
name			e ^v												o		know
parade			e ^v												o ^v		stove
take			eɪ												o		more
take			e												o ^ə		floor
tail			e ^ə										ʌ				dozen
taste			e										ʌ				color
													ʌ				stuff
ten				ɛ ^ə									ʌ ^v				hungry
self				ɛ ^ə								ɔ ^ə					torches
yellow				ɛ								ɔ ^ə					salt
head				ɛ ^ə								ɔ					along
shell				ɛ ^ə								ɔ					swamp
care				ɛ ^ə								ɔ					crawfish
sent				ɛ							ə ^v						about
red				ɛ ^ə							ə ^v						amount
words					ɜ ^ə						ə ^v						now
circle					ɜɪ ^ə						ə ^v						flour
serve					ɜɪ ^ə						ə ^v						down
serve					ɜ												
					ɜɪ ^ə												oil
					ɜ ^ə												oil
had					æ ^v						ɔ ^ə						royal
had					æ ^v						ɔɪ						boils
understand					æ ^v						ʌɪ						boil
have					æ ^v						ɔɪ						oysters
carry					æ						ɔɪ						voice
black					æ						ʌɪ						pointy
Charles														ɔɪ			
part														ɔ			
											ai						side
costumes									ɑ	ai							lights
hollow									ɑ	ai							like
pot									ɑ	ai							like
										ai							live
	i	ɪ	e	ɛ	ɜ	æ	ʌ	ɑ	ai	ɔi	au	ɔ	ʌ	o	u	u	

Table 29. LA 42, The Irish Channel

	i	l	e	ε	3	ʒ	ɔ	ai	ji	au	ɔ	ʌ	o	u	u	
queen	i														u	dukes
street	i														u	mooching
beef	i														u	too
"B"	i														u	Rousseau
drink		I											oʒ			fourth
here		Iʰ											oʒ			old
get		I											oʒ			coat
whipped		Iʰ											oʒ			go
period		I											oʒ			door
													oʒ			know
gravy			eʰ													
way			eʰ									ʌ				club
												ʌ				up
men				εʒ												
Freddy				ε							ɔʒ					corner
dressed up				ε							ɔ					talk
them				εʒ							ɔ					Rousseau
very				ε												
best				ε						ʌʊ						hour
bread				εʒ						ʌʒ						now
										ʌʒ						around
turn					3I					ʌʊ						about
hamburgers					3I					ʌʊ						down
work					3I											
third					3I											
											ɔʒ					Poydras
bands						ʒʒ			oʒ							oysters
that						ʒʒ										
Parasol's						ʒʒ										
chance						ʒʒ										
laugh						ʒʒ										
lasts						ʒʒ										
bar											ɔ					
marshal											ɔ					
march											ɔ					
								ʌʒ								behind
stop							a	ʌʒ								nice
hot							a	ʌʒ								time
block							aʒ	ʌʒ								died
got							aʒ	ʌʒ								Irish
								ʌʒ								my
								ʌʒ								right
	i	l	e	ε	3	ʒ	ɔ	ai	ji	au	ɔ	ʌ	o	u	u	

Table 30. LA 46, The Irish Channel

	i	ɪ	e	ɛ	ɜ	æ	ʌ	ɑ	ai	ɔi	au	ɔ	ʌ	o	u	
feet	i														u	shooter
see	Ii														u	school
															u	through
hit	Iɜ															
hitting	Iɜ														Uɜ	your
ring	I														Uɜ	wood
width	Iɜ														U	room
did	Iɜ															
chickens	I														oʊ	throws
stick	I														oʊ	roll
															oʊ	nose
baby			e												oʊ	poultry
played			e												o	fourteen
player			eɪə												oɜ	four
tail			eɪ													
shake			eɪ										ʌ			number
													ʌʷ			butt
air			ɛʷɜ										ʌ			up
rest of 'em			ɛ										ʌɪ			bunch
else			ɛɜ										ʌ			guts
every			ɛ													
bellies			ɛ									ɔɪ				baseball
ferry			ɛ									ɔ				baseball
net			ɛɜ									ɔɜ				guard
square			ɛɜ									ɔɜ				on
												ɔɜ				forty
first					3ɪ							ɔɜ				across
thirty					3							ɔɜ				crawfish
circle					3ɪ											
jerk					3ɪ							ɔɜ				ground
inverted					3ɜ							ɔʷɜ				hours
crab						ɔɜ						ɔʷ				cowbellies
has						ɔɜ						ɔʷ				down
grass						ɔʷɜ										
band						ɔʷɜ				ɔɪ						choice
half						ɔɜ				ɔɪ						joists
mash						ɔɜ				ɔɪ						join
mash						ɔɜ			aɪ							line
basket						ɔʷɜ		aɪ								night
hard												ɔɜ				
marbles												ɔɜ				
water																sides
stop								a	aɪ							guy
rock								a	aɪə							wire
top								a	aɪ							entitled
	i	ɪ	e	ɛ	ɜ	æ	ʌ	ɑ	ai	ɔi	au	ɔ	ʌ	o	u	

CHAPTER IV

PHONOLOGICAL VARIANTS

The discussion of phonemes will largely be limited to those vowels and consonants which either show significant variation from one informant to another or which, while fairly uniform in Louisiana, exhibit characteristics not common to the major regional varieties of American English. All the vowels come under one or both of those classifications, but only a few of the consonants do. The range of articulations for each phoneme is described, and the variants which occur are discussed in two dimensions: *allophonic* and *diaphonic*. Allophonic variants, or *allophones*, vary according to the phonetic context, as in the case of the different kinds of /t/ in *but* and *butter* for most native speakers of American English. Diaphonic variants, or *diaphones*, vary according to geography, as in the case of the different pronunciations of the vowel nucleus of *ride* typically used by New Yorkers and Louisianians. Although the suprasegmental phonemes pitch and stress are outside the scope of this study, a few preliminary remarks about these and other prosodic features are appropriate in order to establish a context for the segmental phonemes.

Prosody

Two degrees of stress are marked in the transcriptions: primary and secondary. Vowels in unstressed syllables are unmarked, vowels with secondary stress are marked with a grave accent /`/, and

vowels with primary stress are marked with an acute accent /'/. A four-level analysis of stress was not deemed necessary because the two highest levels in a four-stress analysis can be conveniently considered allophones of one significant level. The higher level is the allophone associated with the peak of an intonation contour; since it can be predicted, there is no need to mark it—at least not for our purposes here.

Intonation is not marked; when it is an important conditioning factor in the pronunciation of segmental phonemes, as it often is in the case of smooth and glided vowel allophones, the conditions are described briefly in the text.

Both intonation and stress vary regionally within Louisiana. Most of the variation, however, occurs at a less obvious level than the difference between the following pronunciations of *pecan*: [pəkáʎ] and [páʎàʎ]. It generally has to do not with the way individual words are stressed but with the relationship of stressed to unstressed syllables in phrase structures. LA 1, Columbia, for example, exhibits a greater degree of difference between stressed and unstressed syllables than does LA 31, Cameron. Primary stress is signaled by length coupled with articulatory force for most speakers, but a few informants signal primary stress on certain word-final vowels chiefly with the force of articulation—the vowels are quite short. The usual pattern when a two-syllable word comes in a position requiring a change in intonation level is for the change to come between syllables, but on *gumbo*, LA 11, Jonesville, the informant

begins to drop the pitch of her voice on the first syllable: $g^{u}_{m_{bo}}$ rather than g^{um}_{bo} . At least in the popular mind, one of the major differences between the English of French Louisiana and what residents of the rest of the state consider "normal" English is the difference in intonation. North Louisianians say that Acadian English is "more musical" than their own speech and that it "has a different rhythm." Unfortunately, no readily comprehensible system has yet been developed with which to transcribe and discuss subphonemic variants of the suprasegmental phonemes. It will be interesting to see what future researchers can do with the DARE recordings toward explaining the exact nature of the differences which lead to those impressionistic evaluations.

Consonants

The Stop Consonants

In general, the stops /p, b, t, d, k, g/ appear in Louisiana much as they do in other parts of the United States. It might be expected that in French Louisiana the voiceless stops /p, t, k/ would lack the aspirated allophones [p', t', k'] initially before stressed vowels, since standard French does not have aspirated stops. No significant regional difference in the treatment of these phones was discovered among the informants for this study, all of whom used English as their major language. It may be possible to find initial unaspirated stops among Louisianians for whom English is an imperfectly grasped second language. But the likelihood is not

as great as it would be if standard French were spoken; in Louisiana French the voiceless stops are sometimes aspirated.¹

Some variation was noted in the treatment of intervocalic /t/ before vowels with primary or secondary stress. LA 5, St. Francisville, has an aspirated variety of /t/ in *bateau* [bæ t'òʔ], but LA 10, Jonesville, has an alveolar tap in the same word: [bæ ɾòʔ]. Most informants have [t'] in *plantation*, but LA 15, LeCompte, has an alveolar tap: [p l æ̃ ɾ é ʔ s ɔ n]. He has an aspirated stop in *tattoo* [t'æ t'ú].

In Louisiana, as in the rest of the country, /t/ and /d/ are usually articulated with the tongue tip against the alveolar ridge, but some informants in French Louisiana, especially LA 20, Donaldsonville, commonly use dental varieties [t̪] and [d̪]. In southeastern Louisiana, dental stops may be used for etymological /θ/ and /ð/ by people who use alveolar stops for /t/ and /d/. Phonetic evidence alone is not enough to say whether such informants maintain a distinction between dental and alveolar stops, but it is probable that most, like LA 34, St. Martinville, simply use phones that grade all the way from interdental to alveolar, as in *the* [ðə ~ d̪ə] and *there* [d̪ɛə].

LA 40, Hammond, regularly uses an implosive variety of /d/ in word final position when no other word follows closely. The feature may be idiosyncratic.

¹Marilyn J. Conwell and Alphonse Juilland, *Louisiana French Grammar* (The Hague, 1963), I, 56-57.

The Fricatives

No significant variations were discovered in the articulation of the fricatives /f, v, s, z, ʃ/. The voiced palatal fricative /ʒ/ showed unusual developments in two idiolects. The interdental fricatives /θ/ and /ð/ and the glottal fricative /h/ exhibited fairly extensive regional variation.

In the place name *Baton Rouge* [bæt̪ɿ rúʒ], and perhaps in other anglicized modern French words ending with the voiced palatal fricative, the French articulation is ordinarily retained at all usage levels. In many other parts of the country the voiced affricate /j/ is used in such words, especially among types I and II; the result is that /ʒ/ is probably somewhat more frequent in Louisiana than elsewhere. One informant, LA 20, Donaldsonville, uses the fricative in *huge* [hjuʒ], an Old French borrowing which normally has the voiced affricate /j/. In *measure* [mɛːʒə], LA 6, Clinton, has a phone that sounds somewhat like the affricate, except that the stoppage of the breath at the beginning of the consonant is incomplete. It is not known whether this feature is idiosyncratic or not.

The interdental fricatives /θ/ and /ð/ occur in medial position, as in *rather* and *method*, regularly in all parts of the state. An exception is LA 37, Grand Isle, who has an alveolar tap in *other* [ʔɪə]. In initial and final positions, the interdental fricatives may vary to stops. The following discussions will ignore stops that develop by assimilation to preceding stops.

The voiced fricative /ð/, as in *the*, *those*, and *there* varies to the voiced stop /d/ so frequently in French Louisiana that

Louisianians often cite the paradigm "dis, dat, dese, and dose" to partially explain how Acadians talk. As a matter of fact, all the French Louisiana informants but two do have stops at least part of the time; they are LA 33, St. Martinville, and LA 31, Cameron. The latter informant's family background is entirely Anglo, and his speech is in nearly all respects like that of Anglo Louisiana. For the sake of convenience, then, Cameron will be considered an Anglo community in the following discussions of phonological variants although it is well within the area defined as French Louisiana.

Besides those in French Louisiana, a few other informants sometimes use stops [d~ɖ] where the fricative [ð] is etymologically expected, as shown in Figure 5. They are LA 8, Lake Providence, LA 5, St. Francisville, LA 6 and LA 7, Clinton, and LA 42, Irish Channel. Three of the five—the informants from Lake Providence and Clinton—are Negroes, but no definite color line can be drawn because LA 22, New Orleans, also a Negro, regularly has / ð /. Within New Orleans, stops are said to be characteristic of the Irish Channel, and it is true that LA 42 seldom has / ð / in initial position; but LA 46, also from the Irish Channel, regularly does. There is no way to be sure whether the latter's younger age or higher educational level is more important in determining the difference.

The voiceless interdental fricative / θ / varies to dental and alveolar stops less frequently than the voiced fricative / ð / does (see Figure 6). Etymological initial / θ / was sometimes articulated

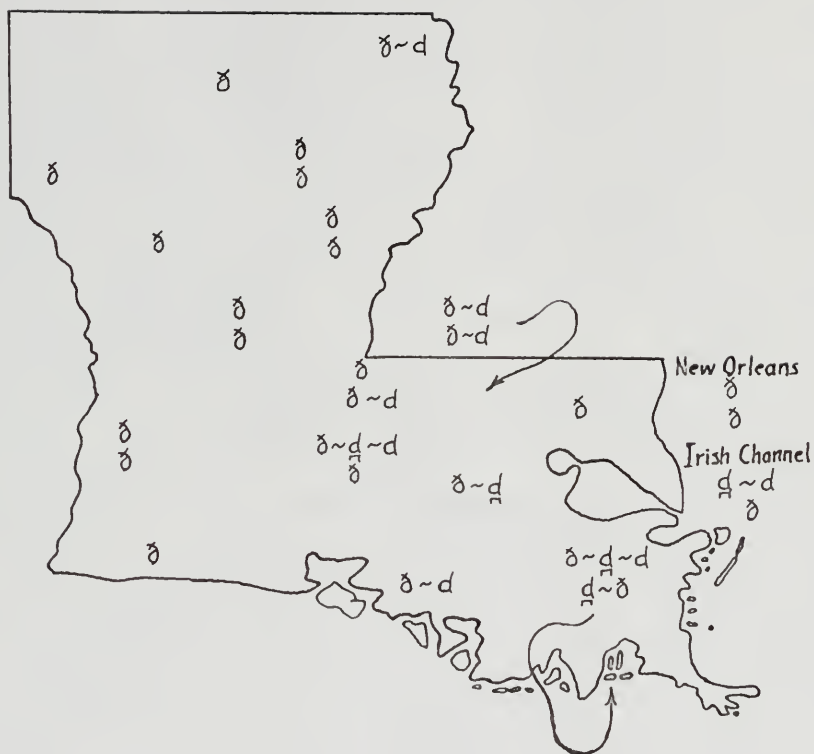


Figure 5. The initial consonant of such words as *the*, *those*, and *there*.

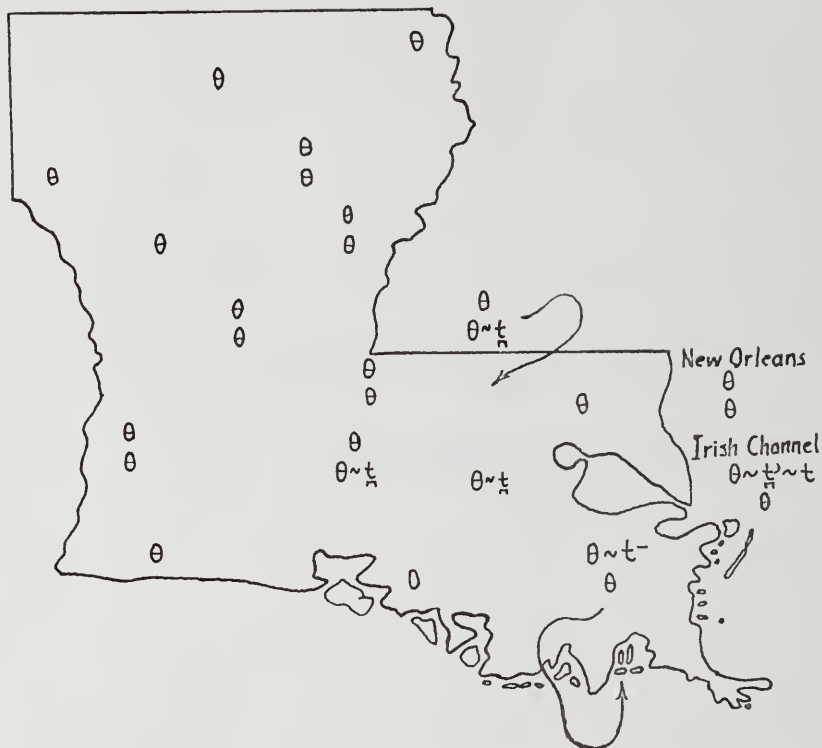


Figure 6. The initial consonant of such words as *thing*, *through*, and *three* and the final consonant of *fourth*.

as a stop by four informants: LA 6, Clinton, *three* [t̥ri~θri]; LA 34, St. Martinville, *throw* [t̥ro] but *three* [θri]; LA 20, Donaldsonville, *through* [t̥ru~tru]; and LA 42, Irish Channel, *think* [t'ɪŋk~θɪŋk]. Etymological final /θ/ was articulated with a stop in *fourth* [foʔt-] by LA 42, Irish Channel, and LA 37, Grand Isle. The examples suggest that etymological /θ/ is especially likely to be articulated as a stop when it is in a cluster with etymological /r/. Before back vowels, the cluster /θr/ may be simplified to /θ/, as in *throw* [θoʔ], LA 6, Clinton.

One other development needs to be mentioned; LA 6, Clinton, and LA 8, Lake Providence, in one instance each, have final /f/ where /θ/ is etymologically expected, the former in an irregular plural of *tooth* [tífiʔ] and the latter in *both* [boʔf].

The glottal fricative /h/ has much the same articulation all over the state; it is discussed here because it varies regionally in its freedom to enter the cluster /hw/. As seen in Figure 7, such words as *where*, *when*, and *whip* regularly have [hw] for all informants in Anglo communities except Mansfield and St. Francisville. It should also be noted that LA 31, Cameron, is old fashioned in his preservation of /hw/ clusters; other aspects of the field work indicate that /w/ is more frequent in Cameron. In French Louisiana and the New Orleans area /w/ is regular in such words for most informants. Only LA 20, Donaldsonville, and LA 23, New Orleans, have /hw/.

The Affricates

The affricates /tʃ, dʒ/ do not vary significantly in articulation

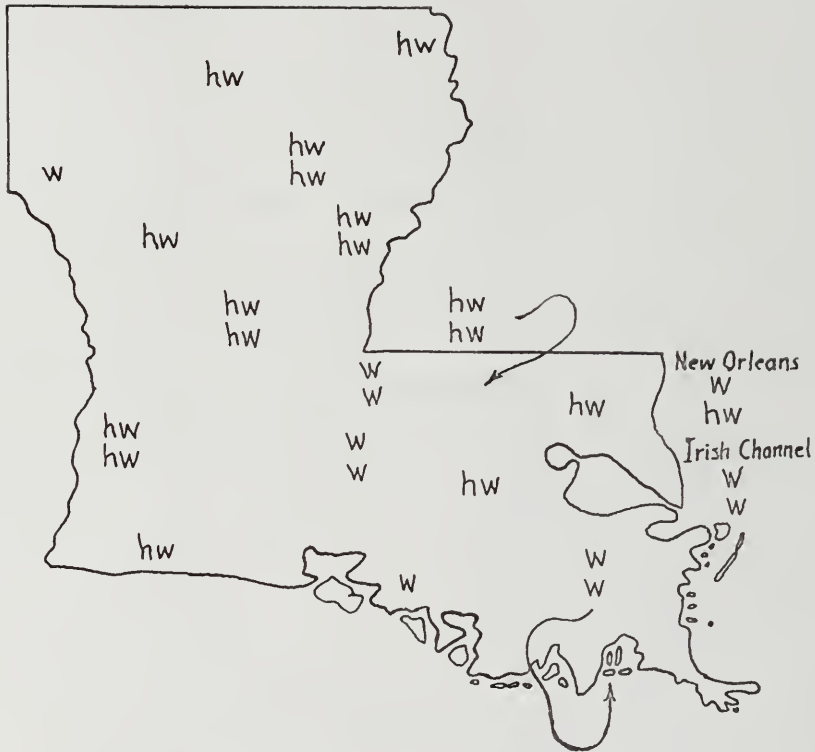


Figure 7. The initial consonant or consonant cluster of such words as *where*, *when*, and *whip*.

from region to region. A minor limitation on the occurrence of the voiced affricate /ʧ/ has been noted in the discussion of the voiced palatal fricative /ʒ/.

The Semivowels

The semivowels /w, j/ do not appear to vary regionally in articulation. Semivocalic phones sometimes develop within vocalic nuclei; it is a moot point whether such phones should be considered phonemic or not. Several informants from Anglo Louisiana have a semivowel [j] after /h/ and /n/ in *here*, *hear*, *near*, and perhaps in other words with high front vowels followed by etymological /ɪ/. La 17, Mansfield, LA 5, St. Francisville, and LA 20, DeQuincy, sometimes have a high front vowel [i] or semivowel [j] medially between [æ] and the centering offglide [ɘ] which regularly precedes front consonants. Several informants, for example, LA 15, LeCompte, LA 46, Irish Channel, and LA 25, Franklin, have a medial bilabial semivowel [w] in words which, like *our* and *flour*, have etymological /r/ following /aʊ/. No regional or social tendencies are apparent. In fact, pronunciations with and without [w] may occur in the same idiolect: LA 11, Jonesville, pronounces *our* as [aʊwə] and [aʊ]. A limitation on the clustering of /w/ with the glottal fricative /h/ has already been described.

The palatal semivowel /j/ shows some regional variation nationally in the initial clusters it may form with the alveolar consonants /n, t, d/, as in *new* /nu ~ nju/, *stew* /stu ~ stjʊ/, and *due* /du ~ dju/. Of the sixteen DARE informants for whom relevant

examples are available, all but two have /j/ in such words. LA 17, Mansfield, says *new* [nu] and LA 42, Irish Channel, says *duke* [duk]. LA 22, New Orleans, exhibits divided usage; he has /j/ in *avenue* [ɛvənjù] and *stew* [stjɛu] but not in *costumes* [kástùmz].

The Nasals

The nasal consonants /m, n, ŋ/ show little regional articulatory variation within the state. Their chief importance lies in the fact that front checked vowels show reduced contrasts before nasals, a phenomenon discussed under a separate heading in the section on checked vowels. One other feature of the nasals is important. To a greater extent than in many parts of the country, nasals may be lost as separate consonantal segments and represented phonetically only by nasalization of the preceding vowel. Through vowel nasality is a distinctive phonemic feature of French phonology, the nasalization under discussion here appears to be a native development of English speech rather than a borrowing. True, French words with nasal vowels may be borrowed into English with their French pronunciation preserved, as in *langer* [lǎžɛ] (marble term equivalent to English *to lag*), LA 34, St. Martinville. But in all speech regions of the state native English words spoken by native English-speakers may be pronounced in such a way that the only indication of an etymological nasal consonant is a nasalized vowel. Some typical examples are *blanket* [blǎkɪt], LA 3, St. Francisville, *damp* [dǎɪp], LA 15, LeCompte, and *finally* [fǎɪlɪ], LA 10, Jonesville. The alveolar nasal /n/ is especially subject to

loss from the medial cluster /nt/, as in *hunting* [hʰɰɪŋ], LA 3, St. Francisville, and *center* [sʰɰə], LA 37, Grand Isle. Final nasals are not lost as frequently as preconsonantal ones, but they do disappear occasionally, as shown by *brown* [brɔ̃], LA 6, Clinton. There may be regional and social tendencies in the environments in which nasal segments are replaced by suprasegmental nasalization, but examples presently available are insufficient to warrant generalizations.

Retracted and Lateral Consonants

Both the retracted consonant /ɾ/ and the lateral consonant /l/ vary regionally within Louisiana. The former shows by far the greater degree of variation.

The retracted consonant /ɾ/ has two major allophones. Before vowels and between vowels it is usually [ɾ], with the tongue tip retracted, the back bunched. Except for the retracted tip, the tongue is in about the position for a high central vowel. After vowels, either finally or before a consonant, it is usually [ɾ̃], with the tongue tip retracted, the back bunched, but held in a lower position—about that for a mid central vowel. In fact, the postvocalic allophone of consonantal /ɾ/ and the unstressed retracted vowel /ɾ̃/ share the same articulatory range. The decision whether to call an instance of a consonant or vowel is made on the basis of its environment. After consonants, as in *bother* [báðɾ̃] and *leopard* [lɛpɾ̃d], it is called a vowel /ɾ̃/. After vowels, as in *where* [hwɛɾ̃] and *marsh* [maɾ̃ʃ], it is called a consonant /ɾ/. The reader is reminded that these

phonemic groupings are rubrics for convenient reference to phonetic data rather than elements in a general grammatical theory. It would be just as realistic to consider all instances of [ɾ] and [ɞ] to be members of one phoneme /ɾ/, and to consider the retracted phones in *bother* and *leopard* to be syllabic consonantal /ɾ/ on the analogy of syllabic /l/. It would be equally realistic to consider all instances of [ɞ] to be vowels and analyze the vocalic nuclei of *where* and *marsh* as diphthongs. An analogy is readily available for that analysis, too. The high front phone at the beginning of *yam* [jæɪm] is considered to be consonantal /j/, and the high front phone at the end of *my* [mai] is considered to be the last element of the diphthong /aɪ/. Yet those two high front phones are as much alike as the retracted phones in corresponding positions in *ram* and *mare*. The system decided upon works well enough for the use it is put to and has the advantage of familiarity to most readers.

The chief variation pertinent to /ɾ/ is the frequent loss or weakening of the postvocalic allophone. Figure 8 shows that retraction is lost for most informants at least part of the time. Sometimes a vestigial inglide [ɞ] remains, and sometimes an etymological /ɾ/ becomes ϕ , with no segmental phonetic representation at all, though vowels which historically preceded may be lengthened or positionally modified or both, as discussed in a later section. In general, /ɾ/ is most frequently lost after back vowels.

Six informants in scattered parts of the state have postvocalic /ɾ/ with fair consistency, though among those LA 31, Cameron, sometimes

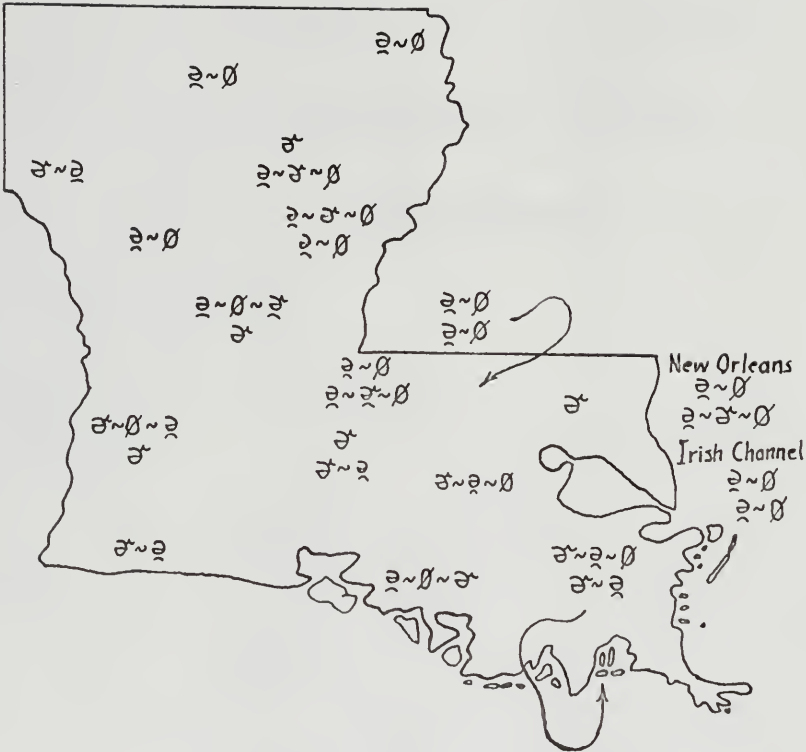


Figure 8. The retracted consonant of such words as *here*, *marsh*, and *forty*.

lacks it after /O/. Ten informants appear not to have postvocalic /r/ at all. The remaining twelve vary in their treatment of etymological /r/; for most of them it may be present in one instance of a word and absent from another instance of the same word.

Several overlapping tendencies are apparent. Four of those who regularly have postvocalic /r/ are in the age group considered old: sixty or older. The remaining two, LA 1, Columbia, and LA 33, St. Martinville, are middle aged. Of the young informants, those under forty, five exhibit divided usage; only LA 46, the Irish Channel, consistently lacks postvocalic /r/. Of those who consistently lack postvocalic /r/, all but one, LA 12, Vienna, are within forty miles of either the Mississippi or Red River. All of the Negro informants consistently lack postvocalic /r/, and all informants in French Louisiana showed divided usage except LA 33, St. Martinville.

No instances of the loss of an initial etymological /r/ were noted, but intervocalic /r/ is sometimes lost, as in *barrel* [bæɹ̥t̪], LA 7, Clinton, *harrow* [hæɹ̥ ~ hæ̃rə], LA 6, Clinton, and *very* [vɛɪ], LA 15, LeCompte. In the case of *barrel*, we can speculate that the vowel in the second syllable was syncopated, leaving /r/ in postvocalic rather than intervocalic position, but no such explanation is possible in the case of *very*. One hardly knows what to make of the variant pronunciations of *harrow*.

French varieties of /r/¹ do not occur in the English speech of any of the DARE informants.

¹For descriptions see Conwell and Juilland, pp. 61-62.

The lateral consonant /l/ shows allophonic distribution patterns similar to those of /r/. Regularly before vowels and commonly between vowels it is [l], called *clear* /l/, articulated with the tip of the tongue against the alveolar ridge and the voice passing over one or both sides of the tongue; except for the contact of the tongue tip at the alveolar ridge, the tongue is in about the position for a high central vowel. After vowels, either finally or before another consonant, it is commonly [ɫ], called *dark* /l/, with the tongue tip against the alveolar ridge and the voice passing over the side of the tongue, as with clear /l/, but the back of the tongue is in much the same position as for mid central or back vowels. A lateral phone may be considered syllabic when it follows homorganic—that is, alveolar—consonants, as in *cattle* [kæ¹ɫ], when the tongue tip does not leave the alveolar ridge between the alveolar stop and its lateral release. The dark variety is usual but not invariable in this position. These tendencies are fairly general in American English. They have been treated in some detail because the variants in Louisiana can best be described in relation to the general pattern.

In Louisiana, as elsewhere, postvocalic /l/ is usually dark. In fact, the inglides noted before /l/ for normally smooth or upgliding vowels, as typically in *bale* [be¹ɫ] and *field* [fi¹ɫ], can be seen as the phones produced as the tongue approaches the position for [ɫ]. It might be expected that clear postvocalic /l/ would be more frequent in French Louisiana than elsewhere, since Louisiana French has no

allophone of /l/ articulated like English [ɫ]. In word-final position, French /l/ may be weakened or lost, but it does not condition an inglide on the preceding vowel.¹

The clear allophone was found in postvocalic position in French Louisiana, as in *tail* [tɛl] and *boil* [bɔɪl], LA 20, Donaldsonville, but this informant is the only one who has them more than sporadically. He also has the dark variety fairly often, as in *quails* [kwɛɹɫz] and *canal* [kənæɹɫ]. When the consonantal articulation—contact of the tongue tip with the alveolar ridge—of English [ɫ] is lost, the historical consonant becomes a vowel and is said to be *vocalized*. Preconsonantal /l/ following low back vowels was vocalized so long ago in English that standard traditional pronunciations of many words, for example *yolk* and *calm*, have no /l/. Vocalized etymological /l/ was also found after front vowels in Louisiana; in most instances it develops into a mid central or back vowel, as typically in *help* [hɛɹp] and *milk* [mɪɹk]. In *wolf* [wʊɹf], LA 2, Columbia, a historical /l/ has been vocalized after a back consonant. Final postvocalic /l/ is rarely vocalized, but one instance was noted: LA 15, LeCompte, says *bills* [bɪɹz]; it may be most realistic to explain the loss of consonantal articulation as a case of assimilation to the /z/ of the suffix.

Syllabic /l/ is usually dark, but one informant, LA 6, Clinton, sometimes has clear syllabic /l/, as in *middle* [mɪdɪl]. More commonly,

¹Conwell and Juilland, p. 61.

syllabic /l/ or the /l/ that follows schwa in an unstressed final syllable may be vocalized. In the speech of LA 8, Lake Providence, the vowel that develops or remains is neutral, as shown by *grindle* [grínə] (bowfin) and *double* [dálbə]. LA 20, Donaldsonville, however, has a distinctive back vowel in *people* [pípv].

Free Vowels

The Vowel of me, street, read, and people

The high front vowel nucleus /i/ in such words as *me*, *street*, *read*, and *people* may be either a high, close monophthong [i] or a diphthong beginning at or near the position for [I], and gliding to or toward [j]: [i~j].

As shown in Figure 9, the diphthongal variety was not found in the recordings from French Louisiana. Most speakers in the rest of the state, including New Orleans, use both varieties. It is not quite accurate to say that the two are in complementary distribution because they grade into each other, ranging from apparently "pure" monophthong to slight diphthong to moderately distinct diphthong. The most distinctly glided diphthongs are ordinarily found in free position under primary stress accompanied by a change in intonation level. Instances in which the glide on /i/ is absent or almost imperceptible occur most frequently under secondary stress, in syllables preceding unstressed syllables and, in monosyllables, before nasals. In neither of the first two cases is it likely that there would occur a change in intonation level, which seems to be a favorable condition for

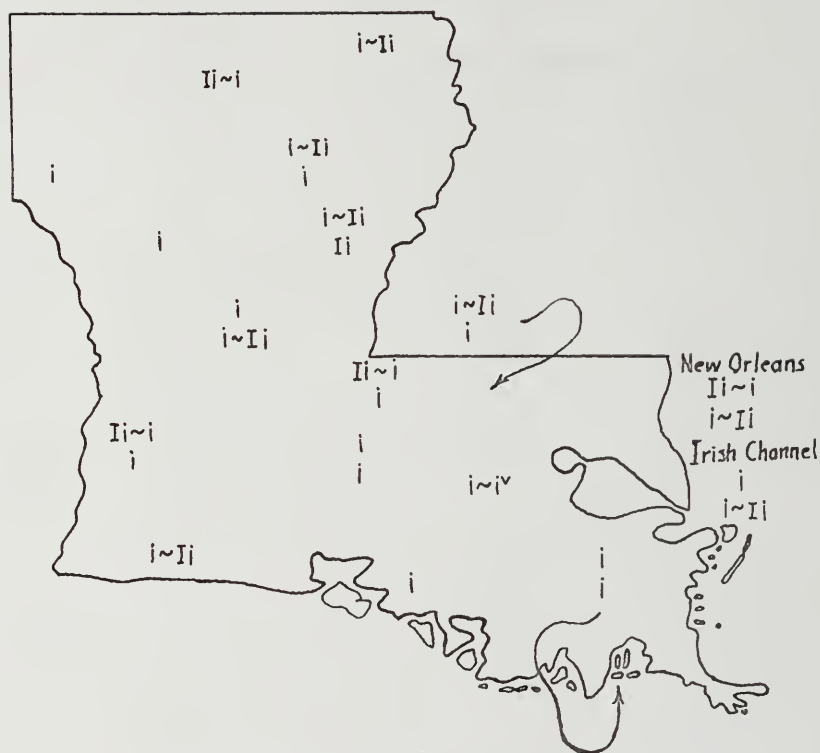


Figure 9. The vowel of such words as *me*, *street*, *read*, and *people*.

increased diphthongization—or at least for hearing it. Among those who use both varieties of /i/, [i̠ ~ i̠ʲ] is rare before nasals and in syllables followed by an unstressed syllable, and [i̠] is rare in free position. The most important allophone, ingliding [i̠] before /l/ followed by a consonant or pause, seems to be common to all regions of the state, as seen in the following examples: *fields* [f i̠ ɛ ʔ z], LA 15, LeCompte; *appeal* [ə p i̠ ɛ ʔ], LA 25, Franklin, *eel-eat* [i̠ ɛ ʔ k æ ɛ t], LA 5, St. Francisville; but *peel it* [p i̠ | i t], LA 6, Clinton. No tendency is apparent for /i̠ / and /ɪ / to fall together in pronunciation.

The Vowel of way, make, grade, and maybe

The mid front vowel nucleus /e/ in such words as *way*, *make*, *grade*, and *maybe* may appear as either an upgliding diphthong [e̠ ~ ɛ̠] or as a monophthong [e̠]. The beginning articulatory position for the diphthong is ordinarily somewhat closer than for /ɛ /, the corresponding checked vowel, after which the tongue glides to or toward /i̠ /. Within limits, tongue height varies a good bit without any clearcut phonotactic pattern. The monophthong is likewise somewhat closer than /ɛ /; it seems to vary less than the beginning position for the diphthong.

The glided variety keeps its upglide before all consonants except /r/, an environment discussed in a later section. The lateral consonant /l/ is usually preceded by an inglide before its dark post-vocalic allophone, but the tongue ordinarily accomplishes at least a slight upglide first, as in *bale* [be̠ ɛ ʔ], LA 8, Lake Providence, *bales* [be̠ ɛ ʔ z], and LA 5, St. Francisville, *tail* [te̠ ɛ ʔ].

Figure 10 shows that the diphthong predominates in Anglo Louisiana, the monophthong in French Louisiana and the New Orleans area. In French Louisiana, final stressed [e] in free position is often quite short, a fact which is especially noticeable when it falls at the end of an intonation contour, where most English-speakers expect to hear a lengthened vowel. The feature may be related to Louisiana French phonology. In French, the free allophone [e] of the mid front unrounded phoneme is closer and, ordinarily, shorter than the checked allophone [ɛ].¹ But it is doubtful that French influence alone can adequately explain the pattern, since the same feature can be observed in speakers from northern Florida.

The Vowel of stir, church, word, squirrel, and thirty

The vowel nucleus /ɜ/ in such words as *stir*, *church*, *word*, *squirrel*, and *thirty* exhibits wide allophonic and diaphonic variation in Louisiana. Historically, it is a development of /ʌɹ/,² and a constriction of the tongue approximating that of consonantal /r/ is a feature of the vowel at least part of the time. The nature of this constriction, often called "r-coloring," has been variously described, no doubt reflecting some variance in articulation as well as variance of opinion among researchers. However it is described, the essential characteristic of r-coloring seems to be retraction of the tip of the tongue accomplished by bunching, rather than spreading, the tongue near

¹Conwell and Juilland, p. 43.

²Hans Kurath, *A Phonology and Prosody of Modern English* (Ann Arbor, 1964).

the back of the mouth. Either the tip, the back, or as is most frequent in Louisiana, the blade may be closest to the palate; in any case, the greater the retraction, the greater the r-coloring. Almost half the informants have moderately retracted [ɜ̞] at least part of the time, but the degree of retraction varies greatly. For most informants, /ɜ/ is articulated most of the time with the tongue much less retracted than it is for consonantal /r/; at its extreme it approaches the neutral mid vowel [ʌ] in character. Many speakers who use this weakly retracted [ɜ̞] in free position have an upgliding pre-consonantal allophone [ɜ̞ɪ], most frequently used and most sharply upglided before palatals and velars in monosyllables, as in *church* [tʃɜ̞ɪtʃ], and *work* [wɜ̞ɪk]. For many speakers, [ɜ̞] and [ɜ̞ɪ] seem to be in perfect complementary distribution; for others either allophone may be used before a consonant, especially those farther forward than palatal, and in polysyllables. Upglided [ɜ̞ɪ] never occurs finally.

Another variety, rounded [ɔ̞], may occur either finally or preconsonantly after the labials /w/ and /f/, as in *squirrels* [skwɔ̞tʃz], LA 1 and LA 2, Columbia, and LA 15, LeCompte, and *where* [hwɔ̞], LA 29, DeQuincy. LA 6, Clinton, has it in *furrow* [fɔ̞]; her husband LA 7 pronounces *far* the same way. It is probably significant that all informants who use [ɔ̞] except one, LA 1, are type I.

The diaphones of /ɜ/ may or may not have inglides before /l/. Strongly retracted [ɜ̞] has an inglide in the examples available, both from DeQuincy: *girl* [gɜ̞ɪl], LA 28, and *world* [wɜ̞ɪl], LA 29.

Weakly retracted [ɜ] may be either smooth, as in *world* [wɜ⁺d], LA 14, Natchitoches, or inglided, as in *girl* [gɜ⁺l], LA 11, Jonesville, and LA 36, Grand Isle. Upglided [ɜ⁺] likewise may add an inglide before /l/, as in *oil* [ɔɪ̯⁺l], LA 22, New Orleans,¹ though it frequently lacks it, as in *squirrel* [s⁺k⁺wɜɪ̯l], LA 3, St. Francisville.

The use of constricted [ɜ̥] or unconstricted [ɜ]—that is, strongly or weakly retracted varieties of /ɜ/—is directly related to the presence or absence of consonantal /r/ after other vowels. As shown in Figure 11, it is not possible to draw a clear geographical isophone between the two major types for several reasons. First, there is no clear-cut articulatory line between the two major types of /ɜ/; the tongue may be retracted much, less, little, or hardly at all. Therefore, it is often difficult to say whether an utterance should be considered to include [ɜ̥] or [ɜ]. Second, many idiolects include both varieties. In some the degree of retraction varies enough within a single discourse that it must be said, if we insist on the concept of separate constricted and unconstricted sounds, that they include both types, apparently in free variation. It seems more realistic to consider that the phone in such idiolects is an intermediate, overlapping type. In other idiolects, most noticeably that of LA 17, Mansfield, constricted and unconstricted varieties seem to reflect stylistic changes, the unconstricted type being used more frequently in somewhat formal discourse. Finally, though usage is

¹This unusual pronunciation is discussed more fully in a later section.

divided in most communities, the selection of informants for this study was not designed to assess the nature or extent of such division. An impressionistic estimate based on all aspects of the field work agrees with the maps for /ɜ/ that constricted [ʒ] is most frequent in the southwestern part of the state. It is least frequent among blacks, among whites of plantation heritage in the Black Belt, and in the Irish Channel.

The Vowel of bar, start, and market

The vowel nucleus /ɔ/ as in *bar*, *start*, and *market* in the speech of those who do not have postvocalic /r/ is ordinarily articulated in low back position somewhat farther back than [ɑ] and somewhat lower than [ɔ]. It may be smooth [ɔ] or ingliding [ɔ̟], and is usually comparatively long. Occasionally, it is articulated farther forward [ɑ:] where, if it does not fall together with /ɑ/, contrast is preserved by length.

Phonotactically, there is a tendency for ingliding [ɔ̟] to occur before consonants in final syllables and for smooth [ɔ] to occur finally and in nonfinal syllables. Occasionally, a historical /r/ is lost without affecting the preceding vowel either by backing or compensatory lengthening. This phenomenon is observed in nonfinal syllables as in *Mardi Gras* [máɪgrɔ̟], LA 10, Jonesville, *forward* [fawəd], LA 11, Jonesville, and *garbage* [gabiɹ̟], LA 22, New Orleans.

It is unnecessary to postulate a phoneme /ɔ/ for most informants either because they have postvocalic /r/ or because etymological /ar/ does not contrast with etymological /ɔr/. It can reasonably be assigned to about a dozen informants in Anglo Louisiana; the other seven have

postvocalic /r/. LA 23, New Orleans, sometimes uses an r-less [ɹ], as in *are*, though [ɹə ~ ɑə] is more common for her. For other informants in the New Orleans area, in French Louisiana, and, incidentally, in Hammond and DeQuincy, /ɑ/ and /ɔ/ do not contrast where they were historically followed by /r/, whether or not that /r/ has been lost.

For several reasons, the relationship of /ɹ/ to /ɑ/ and /ɔ/ is particularly difficult to describe in the Feliciana Parishes, represented by St. Francisville and Clinton. For one thing, they are in a band across Louisiana's elbow where Middle English short /ɔ/ may develop into [ɹ ~ ɹɛ]. In such cases it falls together with the [ɹ ~ ɹɛ] from historical /ɑr/, as when LA 3, St. Francisville, pronounces *bond* and *barn* alike as [bɑɹɛn]. Furthermore, LA 6 and LA 7, Clinton, do not distinguish consistently between /ɹ/ from the two sources just mentioned and the vowel that develops from earlier /aɪr/, although the phonetic quality is not the same in the case of each informant. LA 6 has [ɹ ~ ɹɛ] in *fire* and *iron* as well as in *lard* and *job*; but in *drop* and *got* she has [ɑ]. It may be a contrast maintained only with the help of written reminders, but it is evident that she contrasts /ɹ/ and /ɔ/ since, in reading the item *horse barn* from "Arthur the Rat," she corrected herself from [hɔs bəɹn] to [hɔs bɑ:ɹn]. Her husband, LA 7, has [ɹɛ] in *farm* and *part* and [ɑ ~ ɑ:] in *wire* and *iron*, so that it would appear that contrast is maintained; but *large* has [ɑɛ], qualitatively similar, except for the inglide, to the vowels of *shop* and *wire*.

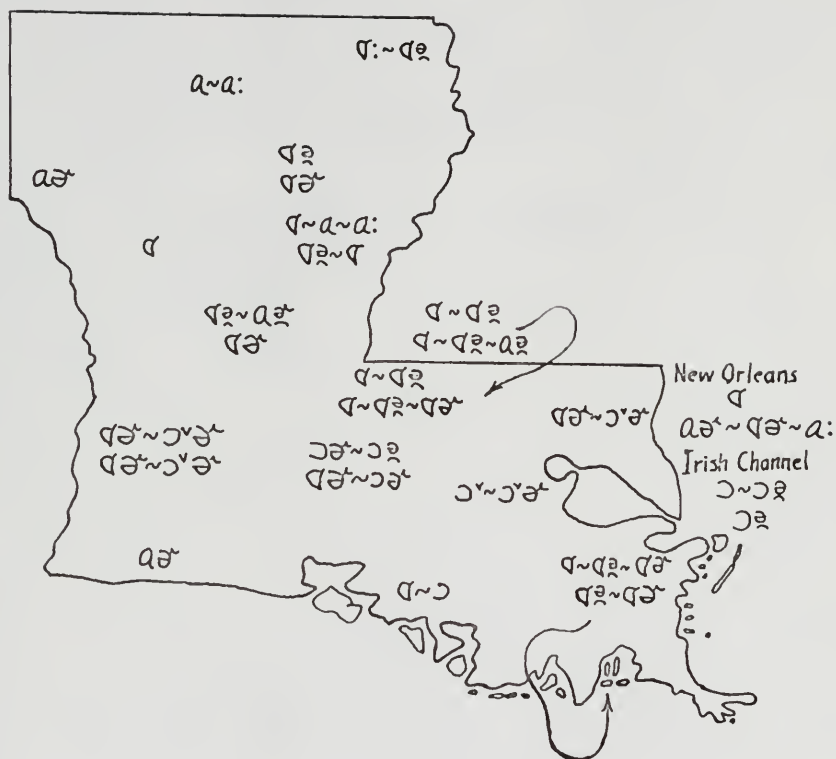


Figure 12. The syllabic nucleus of such words as *bar*, *start*, and *market*.

Some further treatment of these matters can be found in a later section. Here the important fact is that those speakers for this study who live north of a line between Hammond and DeQuincy (see Figure 12) and who lack postvocalic /r/ have a low back vowel which appears to contrast with both /ɑ/ and /ɔ/ and which develops primarily but not exclusively from earlier /ɑr/.

The Vowel of right, wife, fry, time, and ride

The vowel nucleus /aɪ/ in such words as *right, wife, fry, time, and ride* may be an upglided diphthong [aɪ ~ aɪ̟] or a monophthong [a]. Occasionally the first element is back to or toward [ɑ]. There is a continuous gradation between the type with a distinct rising and fronting offglide and the monophthong.

The most distinctly glided phones typically occur before voiceless consonants, as in *type* [taɪp], LA 14, Natchitoches, and *night* [naɪt], LA 46, Irish Channel. Monophthongs or vowels with weakened offglides are more common before voiceless consonants, as in *by* [baɪ] and *times* [taɪmz], LA 14, and *sides* [saɪdz], LA 46. LA 46 has a strongly glided vowel finally in *guy* [gɑɪ], but the unglided vowel also occurs in final position in the New Orleans area: LA 23, New Orleans, has it in *I* [ɑ̟]. Before /l/, /aɪ/ is realized as an inglided diphthong, as typically in *miles* [maɪ̟lz].

Regionally, distinctly glided vowels seem to be a little more likely to occur finally or before a voiced consonant in French Louisiana than in New Orleans or Anglo Louisiana; but Figures 13 and 14 show that regional differences are minor. Slightly backed [ɑ̟] as the first

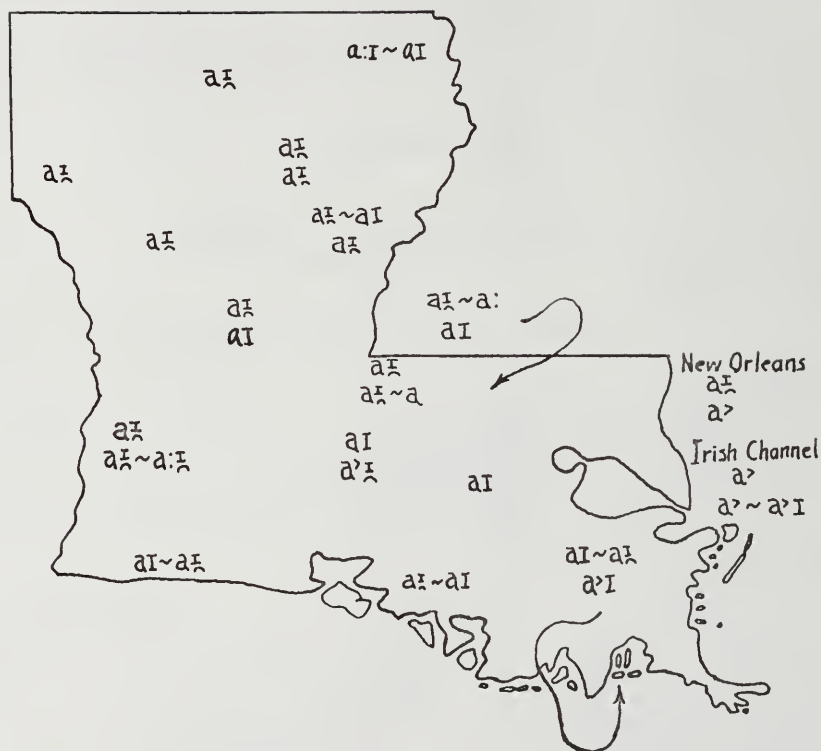


Figure 14. The vowel of such words as *I*, *fry*, *time*, and *ride*.

element of the diphthong is recorded for all three white informants in the New Orleans area. It was the author's impression from field work that these phones [ə'I ~ ə'] are distinctively characteristic of New Orleans speech; but note that the black informant LA 22 does not have them. The speech of several informants in scattered parts of Anglo Louisiana does not fit the general description given above in respect to the treatment of /ə'i/; note especially Tables 3 and 11 for LA 8, Lake Providence, and LA 15, LeCompte, respectively.

The Vowel of boy, choice, poison, and oysters

The vowel nucleus /ɔ'i/ in such words as *boy*, *choice*, *poison*, and *oysters* may be an upglided or inglided diphthong in Louisiana. In most positions for most speakers, it begins at low back rounded [ɔ], from which point it may glide toward mid central [ə], mid front [ɛ], or high front [i]. Some speakers for whom /ɔ/ is a diphthong occasionally pronounce /ɔ'i/ as triphthongal [ɤOI ~ ɔwə]. Certain other combinations of phones have been arranged in the tables in Chapter III as variants of this phoneme, largely because the words they occur in have /ɔ'i/ in standard varieties of English. The regional distribution of such phones is shown in Figures 15 and 16. One variant, [AI], an upgliding diphthong beginning with the neutral mid vowel, occurs in the word *point* on the recording of LA 5, St. Francisville, in *joint* on the recording of LA 8, Lake Providence, and in *boil* on the recording of LA 22, New Orleans. LA 7, Clinton, has [ɛI] in *point*. LA 8 uses the same vowel [aI] in *joists* and *join* as in *five* and *time*.

It is significant that all words pronounced with a diphthong having centralized first elements had *ui* (usually spelled *oi* or *oy*)

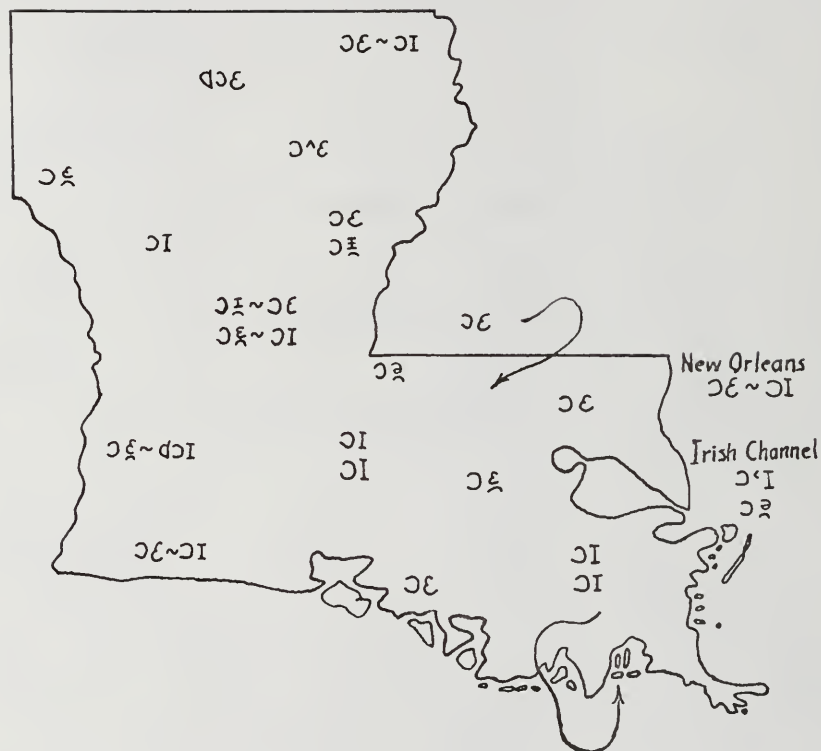


Figure 15. The vowel of such words as *boy*, *choice*, *poison*, and *oysters*.

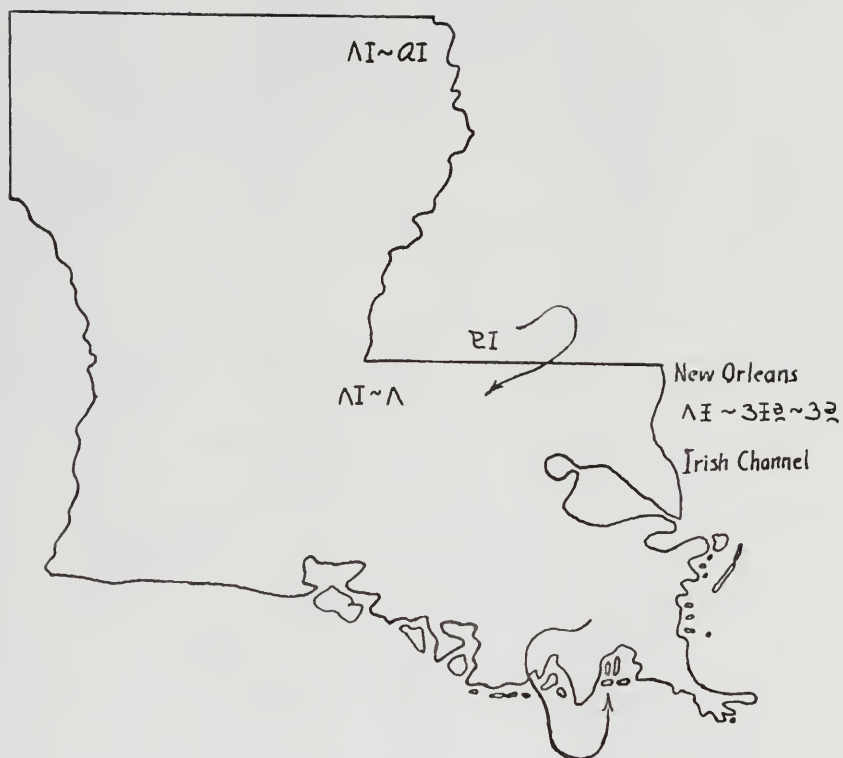


Figure 16. Mid central to low central beginning point for the vowel of such words as *point*, *join*, *boil*, and *oil*.

when borrowed from Anglo-French into English. The subsequent change to [ɔɪ] in standard varieties of English has come about, according to one widely held view, chiefly because of the spelling. In that light, it is probably significant that all four informants are type I; it is also interesting to note that all but one are in communities on the Mississippi, and that all but one are black.

It will be noted that both /ɔ/ and /ɔi/ may be pronounced as an ingliding diphthong [ɔɪ̯]. In every instance but one, speakers who have /ɔɪ̯/ in *oi* words have upgliding [ɔɪ̯] or smooth [ɔ] for /ɔ/. LA 42, Irish Channel, has [ɔɪ̯] in *Poydras*, a street name. His /ɔ/ is also [ɔɪ̯]. Ingilding [ɔɪ̯] occurs as a development of /ɔi/ only among type I informants in the Louisiana recordings.

Strongly upglided [ɔɪ̯] seems to be somewhat more frequent among type III informants than others. Phonotactically, it occurs most often before voiceless consonants. The so-called slow diphthong [ɔɛ̯] with mid front or centralized offglide is somewhat more likely to occur before a voiced consonant or in final position. Triphthongal [ɔɔɪ̯ ~ ɔwə] is occasional in the speech of LA 23, New Orleans, LA 28, DeQuincy, and LA 6, Clinton.

Inglides are not as regular before /l/ for /ɔi/ as for /i/ and /e/. The ingliding variety mentioned above sometimes occurs, as in *oil* [ɔɪ̯t], LA 12, Vienna; or the offglide may be lowered rather than centralized, as in *boil* [bɔɛ̯t], LA 11, Jonesville. An inglide may also follow an upglide, as in the pronunciation of *oil* used by LA 22, described in the next paragraph. LA 20, Donaldsonville, has

[ɔɪ] in *boil*; but his final /l/ in that word is clear /l/, more closely resembling initial and intervocalic varieties of /l/ than the dark allophone [ɫ] used finally by other informants.

One other problem related to /ɔɪ/ needs to be mentioned. It is a common belief in New Orleans that people from the Irish Channel consistently confuse /ɔɪ/ and /ɔ/, saying, for example, *toin* for *turn* and *ersters* for *oysters*. That belief is an inaccurate reflection of the situation that results when /ɔɪ/ comes to be pronounced like the preconsonantal allophone of /ɔ/, as [ɔɪ]. The actual situation, then, is that *turn* and *oysters* are pronounced with substantially the same sound. Since many people from the Irish Channel itself declare that the two sounds confused them in school, they must fall together at least part of the time. The Irish Channel recordings of LA 42 and LA 46 do not confirm that they do; however, *oil* [ɔɪɫ], and *oysters* [ɔɪstəz], were heard from Irish Channel natives who did not make recordings. It is also important to note that LA 22, New Orleans, has *oil* [ɔɪɫ ~ ɔɪɫ], though he has [ɔɪ] in *oysters*. All in all, it appears that the two sounds fall together less frequently in actual speech than in folklore.

The Vowel of plow, loud, down, south, and powder

The vowel nucleus /aʊ/ in such words as *plow*, *loud*, *down*, *south*, and *powder* is invariably a diphthong in the Louisiana materials. It usually begins at or near the position for [a] and glides up and back toward [ʊ], but ingliding variants [aɪ] and [aɪ] were found in St. Francisville (both informants), Clinton (one informant),

Lake Providence, and the Irish Channel (both informants). The evidence at hand is insufficient to ascertain whether up- and ingliding variants are in free variation in any one idiolect. It is clear, however, that there exists no regional phonotactic pattern similar to that along certain sections of the Atlantic coast in which one variant, [əʋ] or [ɐʋ], occurs before voiceless consonants, and another, [æʋ] or [aʋ], in other positions.¹ LA 40, Hammond, has [æɹ] in *ground* [græɹnd] and [aʋ] elsewhere, indicating the possibility that the relatively low and front variety and the high and back variety are in complementary distribution in his idiolect, but no such pattern is readily discernible elsewhere.

Figure 17 illustrates that characteristic articulatory placement in French and Anglo Louisiana exhibits opposite tendencies. In French Louisiana, the first element is generally somewhat backed to or toward [ɔ] and the offglide is relatively high. In Anglo Louisiana the nucleus often begins with [æ] and sometimes glides no further back and up than [ɔ], though [o] is more typical. LA 8, Lake Providence, and LA 15, LeCompte, both in Anglo Louisiana, comprise an exception by saying [aʋ] at least part of the time. LA 28, DeQuincy, sometimes has the triphthong [æɪɔ], apparently in free variation with the diphthong [æɔ ~ æɹ].

The Vowel of law, dog, all, salt, and daughter

The low back vowel nucleus /ɔ/ in such words as *law*, *dog*, *all*, *salt*, and *daughter* exhibits upglided, smooth, and inglided varieties.

¹Hans Kurath and Raven I. McDavid, Jr., *The Pronunciation of English in the Atlantic States* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1961), pp. 110-111.

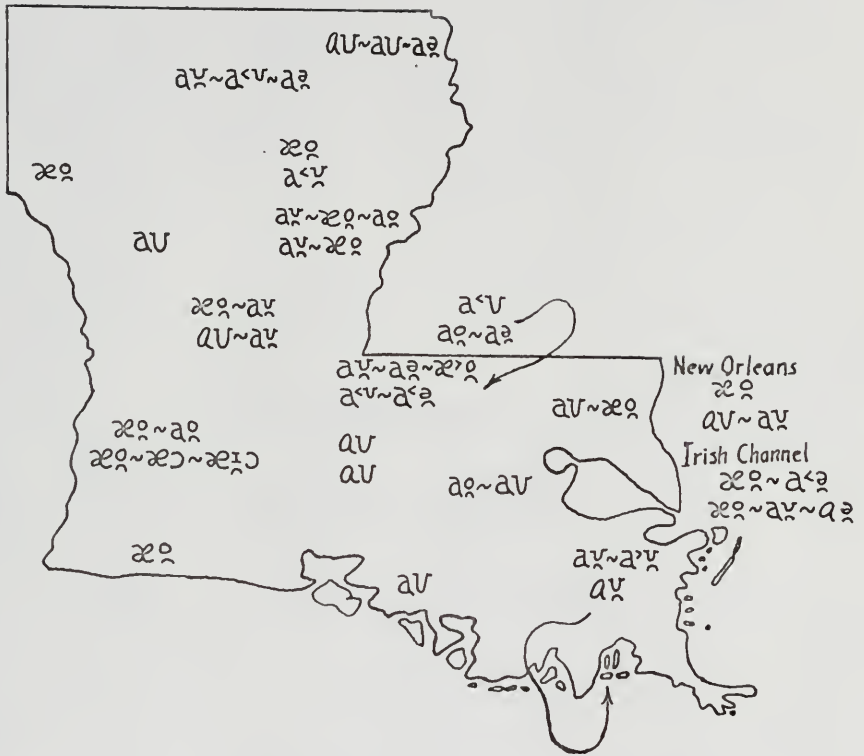


Figure 17. The vowel of such words as *plow*, *loud*, *down*, *south*, and *powder*.

Monophthongal [ɔ] occupies the tongue position between [ʌ] and [o] with a noticeable degree of tongue height variation. Upglided diaphones ordinarily begin somewhat farther back than the [ʌ] of *top* and glide upward to or toward [o]. The tongue glide is accompanied by progressive lip rounding. In articulation, then, it is almost exactly like upglided [Oʷ], except that both initial and final points of the glide are lower. The ingliding variety, on the other hand, is progressively rounded as the tongue glides toward neutral position.

Generally, upglided and inglided types do not occur in the same idiolect. In those idiolects which have them, upglided phones usually either vary freely with monophthongs or regularly serve as the realizations of /ɔ/. Those idiolects which have inglided phones have them most frequently before alveolar consonants and not at all before velars or /l/ where the monophthong is regular. Inglided [ɔɪ] is rare in final position except when the inglide is a development of final /r/. LA 46, Irish Channel, has it in the first element of the compound *crawfish* [krɔɪfɪʃ], where it may be considered either final if the elements are considered separately, or preconsonantal in a nonfinal syllable if the compound is judged as a single word. In either case, the inglided phone is unusual.

Upglided types are characteristic of Anglo Louisiana; inglided types of French Louisiana, as indicated in Figure 18. Monophthongal [ɔ] is found in both regions, but much less frequently in Anglo Louisiana. In Anglo Louisiana, the monophthong appears to diminish in frequency west of the Mississippi delta. High and somewhat centralized

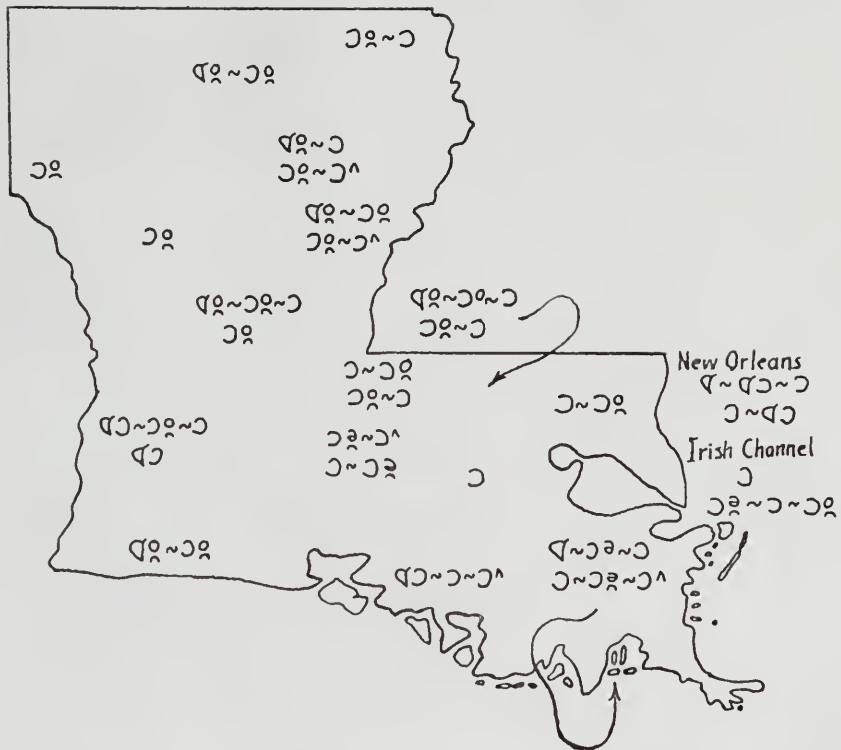


Figure 18. The vowel of such words as *law*, *dog*, *all*, *salt*, and *daughter*.

varieties occur with some regularity in French Louisiana, perhaps influenced by the open allophone of French /O/.

Vowels in the region of /ɔ/ present particular difficulties for anyone attempting to fit them into a traditional phonetic scheme, especially before the consonant /r/. Another feature difficult to describe in terms of traditional phonemics is that unsyllabic /ɹ/ occurs frequently beside /ʔ/ in the Louisiana materials as a development of etymological preconsonantal /l/. As typical examples, LA 25, Franklin, says *milk* [mɪɹk], and LA 2, Columbia, says *wolf* [wʊɹf].

The Vowel of hoe, road, both, and over

The mid back vocalic nucleus /O/ in such words as *hoe*, *road*, *both*, and *over* may be either a monophthong [Oː ~ O^], an inglided diphthong [Oɹ], or an upglided diphthong [Oʏ ~ ʌʏ]. It is ordinarily at least somewhat rounded; upglided varieties are characterized by progressive lip rounding accompanying the raising of the back of the tongue. The first element is often somewhat centralized to or toward [ʌ]. Monophthongs vary widely in length and closeness, often within one idiolect.

Figure 19 shows a fairly distinct regional distribution for the major types. Glided phones of the type [Oʏ] can be found virtually all over the state. Smooth and inglided types are almost entirely limited to French Louisiana and New Orleans, and are especially characteristic of English-speakers from families with strong French-language traditions.

Upglided [Oʏ] exhibits no major allophonic changes in tongue or lip position except before /r/, or before the unsyllabic [ɹ] which

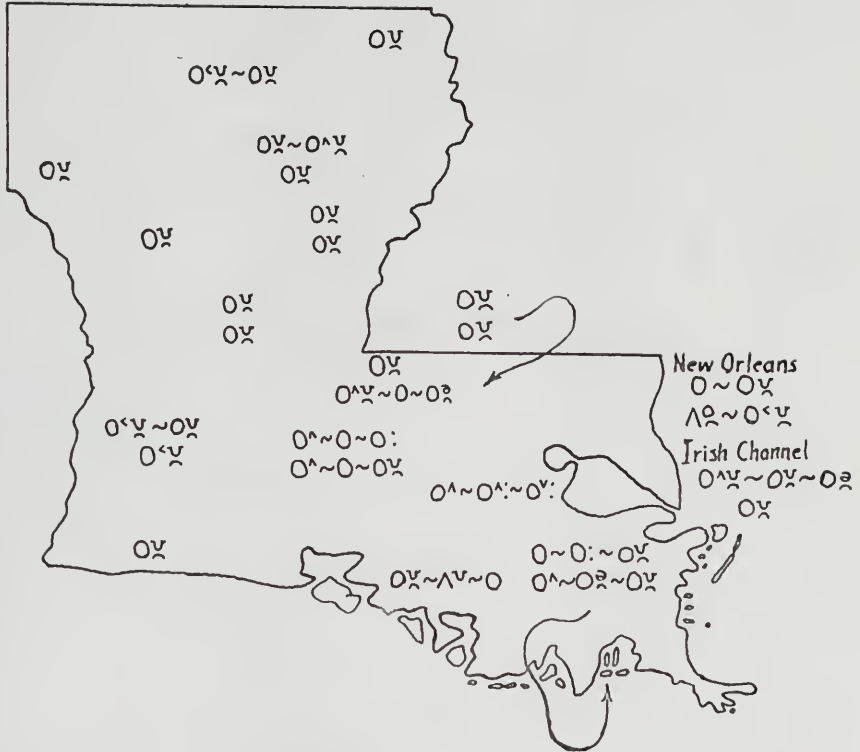


Figure 19. The vowel of such words as *hoe*, *road*, *both*, and *over*.

is the reflex of /r/ in those dialects which do not have postvocalic /r/. That environment is discussed in a separate section. It is noteworthy that /O/, like /ɔ/, does not have an inglided allophone before /l/.

The smooth and inglided phones of French Louisiana present a wider range of variation. In the matter of relative closeness, speakers in St. Martinville, Donaldsonville, and Grand Isle exhibit relatively open and relatively close variants. There is undoubtedly some relationship between these variants and the two major allophones of the Louisiana French phoneme /O/.

In French, the open allophone [ɔ] occurs in checked syllables in complementary distribution with the close allophone [o] in open syllables.¹ There are numerous exceptions even in French, and the rule hardly seems to influence the distribution in English at all. LA 33, St. Martinville, has close [o^] in checked position in *home* and *piroque*, relatively more open [o] in other words, including open position in *know*. LA 20, Donaldsonville, on the other hand, has long open [oː] in *piroque* and shorter open [o˘] in *don't*. In other morphemes in both checked and open syllables, he has the relatively close short monophthong [o]. It is similarly difficult to abstract a pattern from the usage of the other speakers of Louisiana French background, except in the case of final phrase position. When /O/ occurs finally in a word taking primary stress at the end of a phrase, it is usually

¹Conwell and Juilland, p. 46.

close and often very short, especially noticeable since most English speakers expect a lengthened vowel in that position. That shortening is not confined to Southern Louisiana; it has also been heard from speakers from Northern Florida.

In Southern Louisiana, inglided [Oɤ] is not necessarily a reflex of etymological /Oʊ/. LA 37, Grand Isle, has it in *coach* [kOɤtʃ], and LA 42, Irish Channel, has it in *known* [nOɤn].

Apparently, until more information is gathered, preferably with a questionnaire developed to focus on such details, the exact distribution of phones in the region of /O/ will remain problematical.

The Vowel of through, boot, food, and school

The high back vowel nucleus /ʊ/ in such words as *through*, *boot*, *food*, and *school* may be either a monophthong or a slightly upglided diphthong. In addition, a few speakers in Louisiana have an inglided allophone before /l/. The monophthong is articulated with the back of the tongue high and the lips moderately rounded. The diphthong may begin at a lowered and somewhat centralized position [U], at a centralized position [ʈ], or at a lowered centralized position [ʋ]. From there it glides back or up and back to or toward /W/, with progressive lip rounding. The centralized positions are most frequent after /j/, as in *mule* [mjʈʊt], and *new* [njʈʊ], but they are often heard after other palatals as well as some alveolars.

Figure 20 shows a fairly distinct regional division. The diphthongal variety was found at least occasionally on the recordings

for all Anglo communities in the state except Natchitoches and Mansfield, which were represented by type III speakers. The monophthong prevails in French Louisiana; the upgliding diphthong was found there only once. Both speakers in the Irish Channel have only [i̇], as does LA 22, New Orleans, except after /j/, where he uses the diphthong with centralized initial element.

Among regional varieties of American English, Midland, and Northern types generally have inglided [u̇] before /l/, whereas Coastal Southern has relatively long [u: ~ʉu]. Because relevant instances were not found on every tape, it is not possible to determine the exact distribution of the two types in Louisiana, but it is clear that inglided [u̇] is comparatively infrequent. It is used by LA 23, New Orleans, LA 33, St. Martinville, and occasionally by LA 16, LeCompte.

Checked Vowels

The Vowel of bit, sick, mill, in, and pickle

The high front checked vowel nucleus /ɪ/ as in *bit*, *sick*, *mill*, *in*, and *pickle* is articulated in a position slightly lower and farther back than that for the high front free vowel /i̇/. It may be either a monophthong [ɪ] or a slightly inglided diphthong [ɪ̇]. In syllables carrying primary stress and a change in intonation level, the smooth variety occurs before palatals and velars, the inglided variety before other consonants, as in *fifth* [fɪ̇əfθ] and *six* [sɪks] under similar conditions of stress and intonation. In nonfinal syllables—

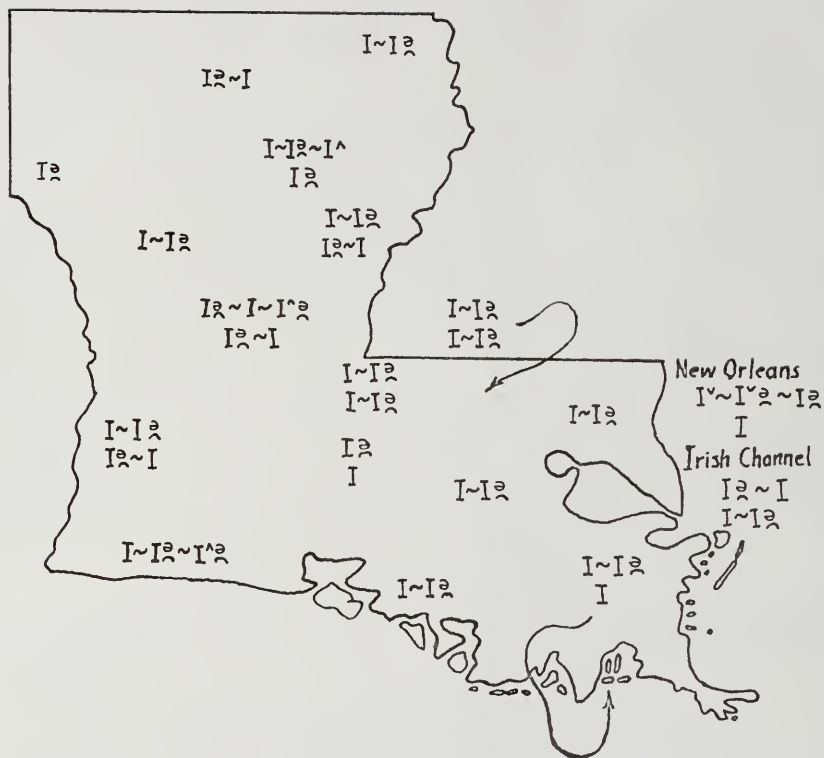


Figure 21. The vowel of such words as *bit*, *sick*, *mill*, *in*, and *pickle*.

those which do not come last in an intonation contour—the offglide is usually weakened or lost, with the exception that an inglide is nearly always preserved before final or preconsonantal /|/.

Except before certain nasals and clusters including nasals, an environment discussed in a following section, the patterns described above are remarkably uniform throughout Louisiana, as shown in Figure 21. Apparently, the only exception occurs in the speech of LA 20, Donaldsonville, who has monophthongal [ɪ] in *filter* [fɪ|tə], where the postvocalic /|/ is clear, rather than dark, as it is normally in English. He has inglided [ɪɹ] and dark [ɪ̤] in *mill* [mɪɹɪ̤].

The Vowel of leg, head, yes, tell, and better

The mid front checked vowel nucleus /ɛ/ as in *leg, head, yes, tell* and *better* is articulated in mid front position, somewhat lower and farther back than the corresponding free vowel /e/. It may be either a monophthong [ɛ] or an ingliding diphthong [ɛɹ]. The usual pattern in which the two varieties occur is the same as for the two varieties of /ɪ/; in syllables carrying primary stress and a change in intonation level, the monophthong occurs before palatals and velars, the inglided variety before other consonants. Under weakened stress and in prefinal syllables the offglide is weakened or lost; as a typical example, LA 33, St. Martinville, has inglided [ɛɹ] in *best* [bɛɹst], but smooth [ɛ] in *pleasant* [plézənt].

There are some significant departures from the general rule in three communities in French Louisiana (see Figure 22), where the

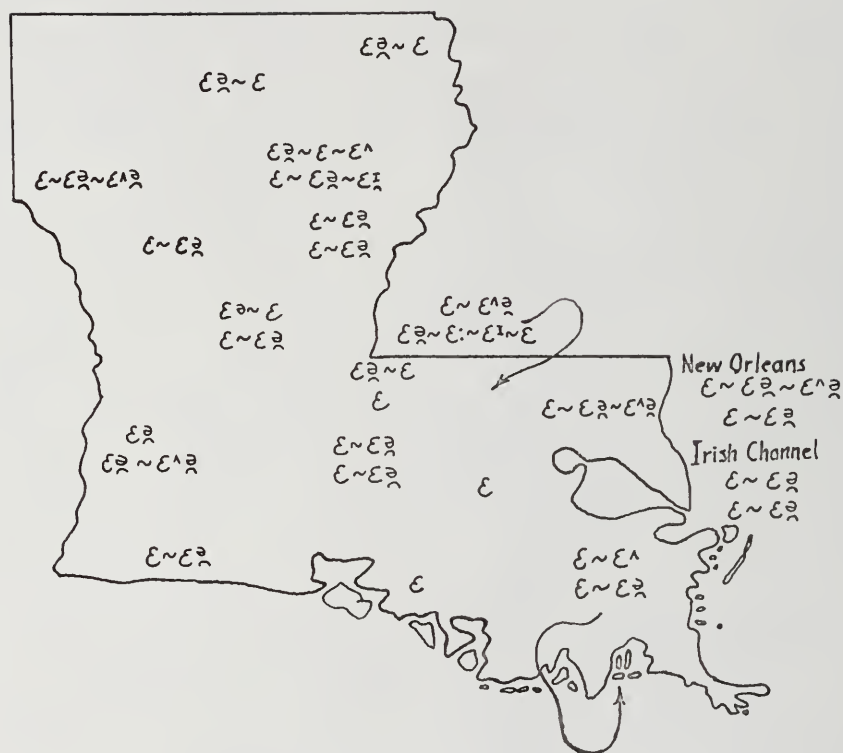


Figure 22. The vowel of such words as *leg*, *head*, *yes*, *tell*, and *better*.

monophthong occurs with a fair degree of regularity before certain alveolar and labial consonants. LA 25, Franklin, has smooth [ɛ] in *yet* [jɛt] and *men* [mɛn]. LA 20, Donaldsonville, has it in *dead* [dɛd]. In Grand Isle, LA 37 has smooth [ɛ] in *left* [lɛf], *head* [hɛd], and *ahead* [əhɛd]. But his younger brother LA 36 has ingliding [ɛ̃] in *them* [ðɛ̃m].

In some words which etymologically have /ɛ/, a rising off-glide develops before /g/ in some idiolects. For example, LA 1, Columbia, and LA 31, Cameron, both pronounce *leg* as [lɛ̃g]. LA 6, Clinton, has an upglided vowel in the second syllable of *nutmeg* [nʌt-mɛ̃g]. LA 25, Franklin, pronounces *eggs* as [eɪgz], in which an etymological /ɛ/ is shifted fully to the usual position for /e/. On the basis of phonetic similarity, even [ɛ̃], with a significantly lower beginning point, groups more naturally with /e/ than with /ɛ/.

The position of an etymological /ɛ/ may also be modified after /g/ or /j/. The common pronunciation of *get* as [gɪt] scarcely needs to be mentioned; also, LA 7, Clinton, uses a slightly raised mid front vowel in *yet* [jɛ̃t], and LA 17, Mansfield, uses a similar one in *yes*. On the other hand, LA 16, LeCompte, has a somewhat lowered vowel in *yes* [jɛ̃̃].

The Vowel of bad, back, pan, lag, ladder, half, and chance

The low front checked vowel nucleus /æ/ as in *bad, back, pan, lag, ladder, half, and chance* may be a monophthong [æ], an inglided

diphthong [æ̩], or an upglided diphthong [æ̩¹]. Occasionally, the triphthong [æ̩¹ə] occurs.

Figure 23 shows that smooth [æ] and ingliding [æ̩] are found in all parts of the state. In French Louisiana, these variants exhibit a pattern similar to that shown by smooth and ingliding variants of /I/ and /ɛ/. That is, in syllables with primary stress and an intonation change, the smooth variety [æ] ordinarily appears before palatals and velars, and ingliding [æ̩] appears before other consonants. Those same generalizations hold true in Anglo Louisiana with the following exception: upgliding [æ̩¹] may appear before /f/, /v/, /s/, and /ʒ/, and before /n/ plus a voiceless consonant. Before /v/ the occurrence of upgliding [æ̩¹] appears to be limited to plurals of words which have /f/ in the singular; LA 10, Jonesville, has it in *calf* [kæ̩f] and *calves* [kæ̩¹vz], but in *have* under similar stress he—like other informants—has an ingliding phone: [hæ̩əv].

The general rules are not without exceptions. LA 8, Lake Providence, has [æ̩¹] before /n/ alone in *man* [mæ̩¹n] but not in *hand* [hæ̩əɪn]. LA 46, Irish Channel, has ingliding [æ̩] before a palatal in *mash* [mæ̩ʒʃ], but not consistently; another instance of the same word has a smooth phone.

Figure 24 illustrates the marked regional differences in the occurrence of upgliding [æ̩¹]. It was found only once in French Louisiana. LA 36, Grand Isle, has it in *lag* [læ̩¹g], where the vowel shows a development similar to that sometimes found in /ɛ/ before /g/. By contrast, only one informant from Anglo Louisiana,

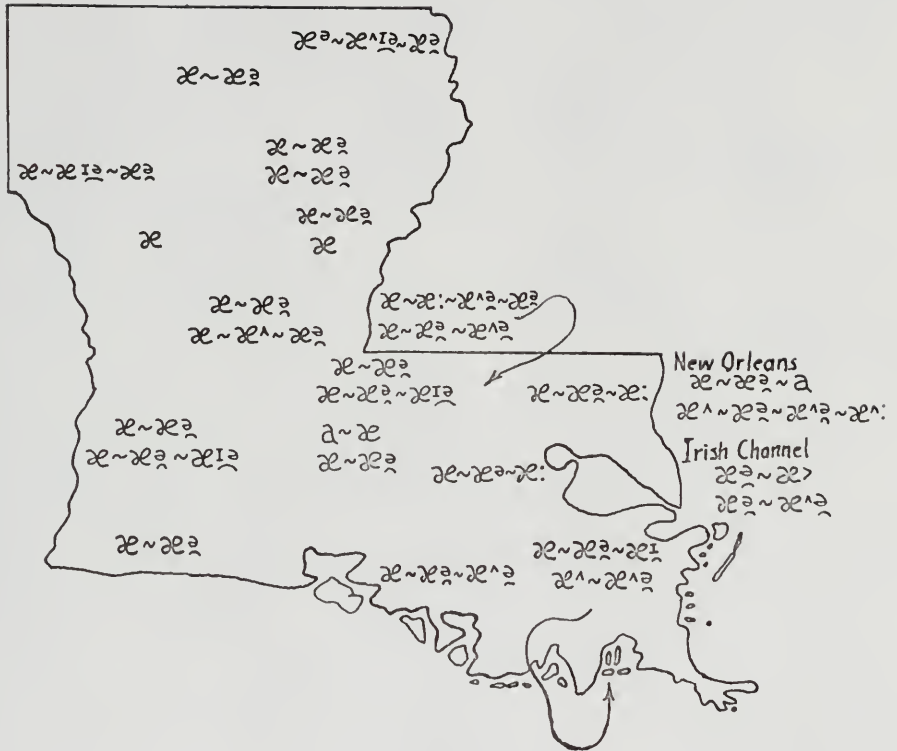


Figure 23. The vowel of such words as *bad*, *back*, *pan*, *lag*, and *ladder*.

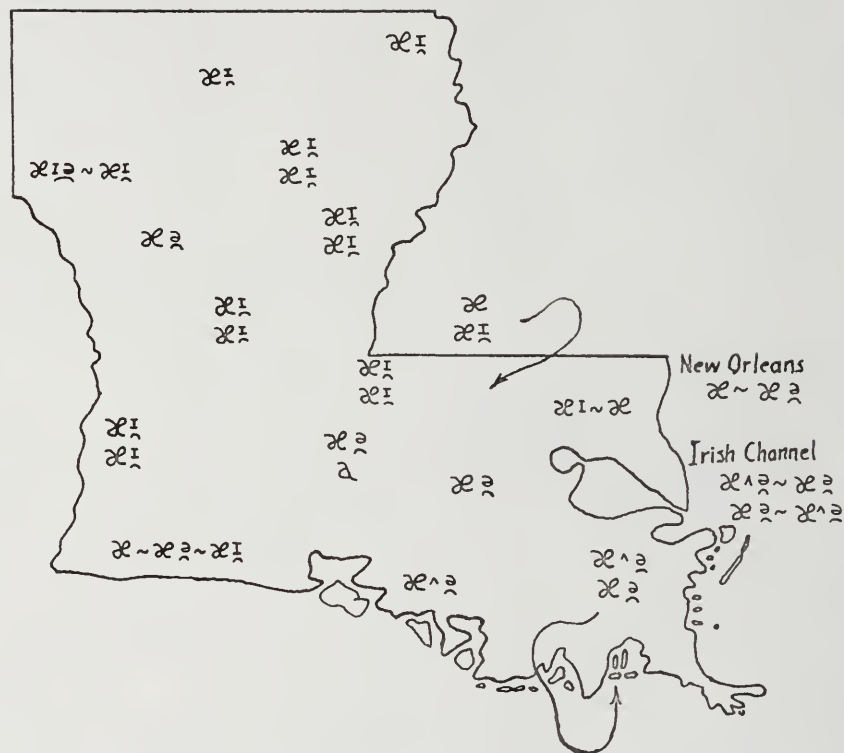


Figure 24. The vowel of such words as *half*, *grass*, and *chance*.

LA 14, Natchitoches, appears not to have it. Certain other articulatory differences are of interest. LA 33, St. Martinville, and LA 23, New Orleans, sometimes have backed [ɑ̃]; and LA 42, Irish Channel, occasionally has slightly backed [æ̃]. More important are the raised variants [æ̃^ ~ æ̃^ə ~ æ̃^ɪə], which are found in the speech of nine informants; LA 6 and LA 7, Clinton; LA 8, Lake Providence; LA 22, New Orleans; LA 15, LeCompte; LA 25, Franklin; LA 37, Grand Isle; and LA 46 and LA 42, Irish Channel. It is difficult to see an overall pattern by region or age, but it is significant that all four black informants, the first four on the list, are included in this group.

Certain problems involving /æ/ and the other front checked vowels before nasals are discussed in the next section.

Front Checked Vowels Before Nasals

The front checked vowel nuclei /ɪ/, /ɛ/, and /æ/ exhibit a complex set of relationships before nasals. In the speech of most informants, no consistent phonetic distinction can be discerned between the vowel nuclei of words which etymologically have /ɪn/ and those which etymologically have /ɛn/, so that stressed *in* rimes with *men*, for example. Final /m/ has much the same apparent effect, but the effect does not show up in the speech of as many informants as it does before /n/. For a somewhat smaller number of informants, no consistent phonetic distinctions are made between etymological /ɪ/, /ɛ/, and /æ/ before the velar nasal /ŋ/. In some idiolects, front checked vowels

before the clusters /nɕ, ɲʃ/, and /ns/ appear much the same way they do before /ŋ/. In other clusters the nasals have the same apparent effect as they do finally.

Before the velar nasal /ŋ/, either alone or followed by another consonant, the vowel which actually occurs in words which etymologically have /ɪ/ is often [ɛ ~ ɛɪ] or [æ ~ æɪ] in Anglo Louisiana, as shown in Figure 25. The result is that *sing* may be pronounced like *sang* and *think* may be homophonous with *thank*. Such lowered variants are not found on the recordings for French Louisiana and appear to be rare in the New Orleans area. LA 23, New Orleans, occasionally uses a lowered vowel, as in *thing* [θɛŋ], but [ɪ] is more common, as in *bring* [brɪŋ] and *think* [θɪŋk]. The other New Orleans informant and the ones from the Irish Channel use [ɪ] consistently. Additionally, certain informants in the Anglo area seem not to use a lowered vowel before /ŋ/; they are LA 16, LeCompte, LA 14, Natchitoches, and LA 40, Hammond. No pattern emerges on the basis of sex, age, region, or type. As a matter of fact, LA 16, who uses [ɪ], is married to LA 15, who uses [æ ~ æɪ]. Apparently, neither she nor her husband notices the difference in pronunciation.

Figure 26 shows that in most of the state, phones produced in the region of [ɛ] do not occur before /ŋ/. Instead, in those words where etymology would lead us to expect [ɛ], we find [ɪ ~ ɪɪ]; the vowel has the same quality as in words where [ɪ] is etymologically predictable. The distributive pattern is the same as that for the

allophones of /I/ before consonants farther forward than palatal. That is, the monophthong [I] occurs in nonfinal syllables, and inglided [Iɤ] normally occurs when no other syllable follows closely, as in the following typical examples from LA 11, Jonesville: *twenty* [twɪntɪ], but *ten* [tɪɤn]. LA 40, Hammond, follows essentially the same pattern, but phonetically the vowel he uses is somewhat lower, being articulated somewhere between the positions for [I] and [ɛ]. In Franklin, Donaldsonville, New Orleans, the Irish Channel, and Grand Isle, either [I ~ Iɤ] or [ɛ ~ ɛɤ] may occur before /n/. The difference cannot consistently be predicted etymologically. All three informants from Grand Isle and Donaldsonville, for example, use vowels ranging in quality between [I] and [ɛ] in words which etymologically have /ɛn/. They do use [I ~ Iɤ] consistently in words which etymologically have /In/. The evidence at hand is insufficient to determine whether a given phonetic quality is consistently used in different instances of the same word. In New Orleans and the Irish Channel, [ɛ ~ ɛɤ] is usually, but not invariably, used in words which etymologically have /ɛn/.

In many idiolects which have only [I ~ Iɤ] before /n/, both [I ~ Iɤ] and [ɛ ~ ɛɤ] may occur before /m/. Both LA 2, Columbia, and LA 28, DeQuincy, for example, have [ɛɤ] in *them* [ðɛɤm]; in addition, LA 28 has [ɛ] in *lemon* [lɛmən]. LA 31, Cameron, however, has a high vowel in *stem* [stɪɤm], where the mid vowel [ɛ] is etymologically predictable. No instances of [ɛ ~ ɛɤ] in words which etymologically have /Im/ were noted on any of the Louisiana recordings. A unique

variant deserves to be noted: LA 5, St. Francisville, has a high monophthongal [ɪ^h] in *them* [ðɪ^hm]. The sound is substantially different phonetically from both the ingliding [ɪ̯] of *breem*, *shrimp*, and the high close [i ~ i^h] of *mean*, *green-back*.

Rarely, an etymological /ɪ/ is lowered before /n̥, ɲ/, or /ns/. LA 6, Clinton, has an upglided mid vowel in *pinch* [pɛɪn̥tʃ]. For the sake of comparison, she has [ɛ ~ æɪ] before /ɲ/, and [ɪ̯] before /n/ alone. LA 29, DeQuincy, has [æɪ] in *engines* [æɪɲɪnz]. LA 31, Cameron, has mid front [ɛ] in *since* [sɛnts], but high front [ɪ] in *inches* [ɪn̥tʃɪz].

The evidence at hand is not sufficient to draw a complete picture of the phonology of the front checked vowels before nasals. A few important generalizations can be made, however. In Anglo Louisiana, the number of consistent phonetic distinctions is reduced; the phones involved are /ɪ/ and /ɛ/ before /n/ and to a somewhat lesser extent before /m/, and /ɪ/, /ɛ/, and /æ/ before /ɲ/. In French Louisiana and New Orleans, distinctions before /ɲ/ are generally maintained along etymological lines. All three front checked vowels occur before /ɲ/, but it cannot always be predicted whether [ɪ] or [ɛ] will appear in words such as *men* and *pen*. The fact that [ɪ ~ ɪ̯] appears consistently in words that etymologically have /ɪ/ and sporadically in words that etymologically have /ɛ/ probably indicates that the mid front vowel is in the process of being lost before /n/.

The Vowel of lock, pot, pond, and bother

The low central vowel nucleus /ɑ/ in such words as *lock*, *pot*, *pond*, and *bother* is nearly always a monophthong. Its usual articulation is low central to low back [ɑ]. Most informants also have a phone [ɶ] articulated farther back than [ɑ] and lower than [ɔ]. For some this sound may be considered an allophone of /ɑ/; for others it is structured as a phoneme in its own right. For this discussion, the phonemic boundary between /ɶ/ and /ɑ/ posited for some informants will be ignored. The question of phonemic boundaries has been taken up in the discussion of free vowel /ɶ/. Furthermore, this discussion will ignore the frequent use of [ɶ] as an allophone of /ɑ/ before /r/.

Except for the position before /n/, where [ɶ² ~ ɔ] rather than [ɑ] occurs in the speech of the St. Francisville, Clinton, and Vienna informants, it is hard to analyze a phonotactic pattern for [ɑ] and [ɶ] as developments of Middle English short /ɔ/. Geographically, both phones may occur in a band across the state extending from the Florida Parishes near the southwest corner of Mississippi to the southwest corner of Louisiana itself, as shown in Figure 27. Within that area, instances of [ɶ] were recorded in *shop*, *job*, *hot*, *pods*, *clock*, and *otter*. Most of these are recorded only once, so that it is hard to say whether [ɶ] is typical or not. Those that do occur more than once are not always consistent. *Job* is [jɶb] for LA 29, DeQuincy, and LA 16, LeCompte; LA 6, Clinton, has the same vowel in *shop*. It is tempting to state, then, that [ɶ] is regular between an initial palatal consonant and a final bilabial stop, but LA 7, Clinton, has [ɑ]

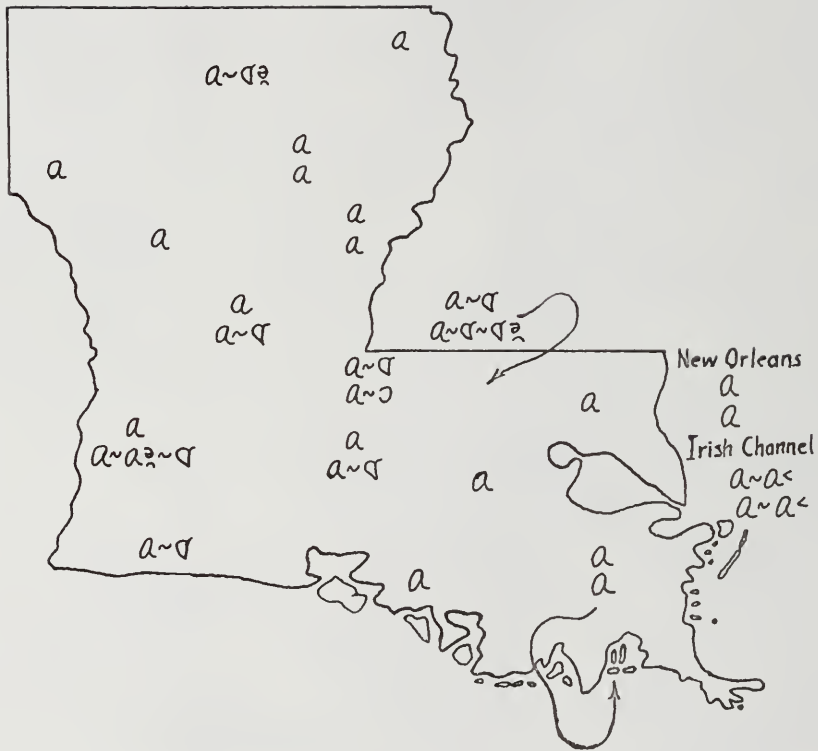


Figure 27. The vowel of such words as *lock*, *pot*, *pond*, and *bother*.

in *shop*. Furthermore, LA 31, Cameron, has [ɔ] and [ʊ] in successive instances of *otter*. It is apparent that the low back vowels will have to be studied more fully in Louisiana before their relationships can be accurately known. In those parts of the state outside the band of communities just mentioned, /a/ is regularly [a] in the environments discussed here, without any major articulatory changes for different phonetic environments.

The vowel nucleus /a/ is considered to be a checked vowel because it occurs in final position only in words borrowed into English fairly recently.¹ In Louisiana the most notable of these words is *Mardi Gras*, usually /márdigrà/. Most other words borrowed from French with endings similarly spelled have final /ɔ/, as for example the place names *Arkansas* [áɹkənsə], *Texas* [tínsə], and *Ouachita* [wásitə], all ultimately of Indian origin. For LA 10, Jonesville, *Mardi Gras* follows the same pattern: [mádigrə], indicating a tendency to structure /a/ only as a checked vowel.

The Vowel of up, run, hush, jug, and hung

The mid central vowel nucleus /ʌ/ in such words as *up*, *run*, *hush*, *jug*, and *hung* may be articulated near the center of mid central position: [ʌ]; frequently it is shifted up and back toward /U/: [ʌ^ʰ~ʏ]; less often it is shifted down and back toward the area of /a/ and /ɔ/: [ʌ^ʷ]. Under primary stress, it is not ordinarily shifted up or forward, though such a shift occurs frequently under

¹Kurath, *Phonology and Prosody*, p. 91.

secondary stress. The relatively high back type has an ingliding variant [$\wedge^{\text{h}} \sim \text{ɤ} \text{ɤ}$]; naturally enough, the phone [\wedge], which is already central, does not have a centralizing offglide. Rarely, a type [$\wedge^{\text{h}} \sim \text{ɤ}^{\text{h}}$] with a rising and fronting offglide appears.

For most informants in Anglo Louisiana, relatively high back phones [$\wedge^{\text{h}} \sim \text{ɤ}$] seem to be in free variation with those articulated in a more central position [\wedge]. Perhaps it would be more accurate to state that, on the average, the point of articulation is somewhat high and back [\wedge^{h}] and that there is a wide latitude of articulatory placement which includes [\wedge] and [ɤ]. Ingliding phones were found in the speech of eleven informants, most frequently before final /n/, nɔ/, and /ɔ/; they were also noted before /p, d, m, t/, and /l/. Phones with a rising and fronting offglide [$\wedge^{\text{h}} \sim \text{ɤ}^{\text{h}}$] were considerably less frequent; they were found before /ʒ, ɛ, ɟ, nɔ/, and /g/ in the speech of only four informants. For one of those four, LA 2, Columbia, enough examples are available to suggest that he has upgliding mid central phones consistently before palatals. The relevant words are *brush* [brʏɔʒ], *hushed* [hʏɔʒt], *judge* [ʒʏɔʒ], and *much* [mʏɔʒ]. For the other three informants, no generalizations about the distribution of upgliding phones are warranted. It appears that rising and centralizing offglides do not appear in the same idiolect, but since upgliding phones occur mostly before palatals and ingliding phones occur mostly before labials and alveolars, they cannot be considered regional or social variants of a single allophone.

The regional and phonological relationships of relatively low back [$\Lambda^v \sim \text{ɔ}^{\wedge}$] are complex. For two informants in French Louisiana, LA 20, Donaldsonville, and LA 36, Grand Isle, the usual point of articulation for the mid central vowel is somewhat shifted toward /ɔ/, considerably lower than the relatively high back position most frequent in Anglo Louisiana. A few Anglo informants who have [Λ] or [$\Lambda \sim \text{ɔ}$] in most phonetic environments use a lowered and backed variant before /ŋ/, either finally or clustered, and before the cluster /mp/. For example, LA 22, New Orleans, has it in *hungry* [$\text{h} \Lambda^v \text{ŋ} \text{gri}$], LA 5, St. Francisville, in *bumpy* [$\text{b} \Lambda^v \text{m} \text{p} \text{ɪ}$], and LA 7, Clinton, in *stump* [$\text{st} \Lambda^v \text{m} \text{p}$] and *young* [$\text{j} \Lambda^v \text{ŋ}$]. Uniquely, LA 29, DeQuincy, has a diphthong in *young* [$\text{j} \text{ɛ} \text{ɔ} \text{ŋ}$], showing both fronting after /j/ and backing before /ŋ/.

Regionally, the relatively high back vowels [$\Lambda^v \sim \text{ɔ}$] in the mid central range are characteristic of Anglo Louisiana, as shown in Figure 28. They occur less frequently in the speech of type III informants than in that of types I and II. Such vowels are comparatively rare in French Louisiana and the New Orleans area. The informants from St. Martinville have [ɔ] only once apiece, in *trucks* [$\text{tr} \text{ɔ} \text{k} \text{s}$], LA 33, and *bunch* [$\text{b} \text{ɔ} \text{n} \text{ɕ}$], LA 34. LA 46, Irish Channel, also has it once in *butt* [$\text{b} \text{ɔ} \text{t}$]. As a general rule, however, the point of articulation in French Louisiana is at or very near mid central [Λ], with the variants that do occur shifted back and down more frequently than toward /ʊ/. It is significant that variant pronunciations are much less frequent in the French part of the state than in the Anglo.



Figure 28. The vowel of such words as *up*, *run*, *hush*, *jug*, and *hung*.

It is also significant that, within Anglo Louisiana, variant pronunciations are more frequent and have a wider range of articulations among type I informants than among type III, with type II somewhere between. Of 5 type III informants, 3 have essentially the same phone in all positions, 1 has smooth phones with moderate positional latitude, and 1 has smooth and ingliding allophones with moderate positional latitude. Of 9 type I informants, all have allophones with and without offglides, and all have moderate to wide latitude of articulatory placement. Of 4 type II informants, 2 have smooth and ingliding allophones and 3 have moderate latitude of placement.

Though /ʌ/ is classed as a checked vowel, mid central phones may on occasion be found in final position. LA 8, Lake Providence, cited *bro'* [brʌ] as a familiar appellation for a brother. And a resident of the Irish Channel who was not an informant pronounced *for* as [fʌ] in stressed position in the following exclamation: "Ah, he don't even know what it's for!" Both examples are from field notes; neither appears on a tape recording.

The usual pronunciation of the adverb *just* all over Louisiana is [ʝɪs ~ ʝɪst] with a high central rather than a mid central vowel; but [ʝʌst], [ʝɛɹs], and [ʝɪs] are also recorded. Since the word almost never occurs under primary stress, it is not strictly comparable to the other words cited here which had short *u* in Middle English. It may be more realistic to consider the phones in that word developments of schwa /ə/ than of /ʌ/.

The Vowel of put, bull, book, and sugar

The high back checked vowel nucleus /ʊ/ in such words as *put*, *bull*, *book*, and *sugar* is articulated in a position slightly lower and more central than that for the corresponding free vowel /ʊ/ and is commonly less closely rounded. It may be a monophthong [ʊ] or an ingliding diphthong [ʊɪ]. Rarely, a type [ʊɪ̃] with a fronting off-glide occurs. The vowel nucleus may sometimes be centralized [ʊ̞] or centralized and unrounded [ʊ̠].

Because examples are infrequent, a definitive description of the distribution of smooth and gliding allophones cannot be given. Ingilding [ʊɪ̃] was usually noted before the alveolar stops /t/ and /d/ in final syllables, as in these typical examples: *should* [ʃʊɪ̃d], *would*, *wood* [wʊɪ̃d], and *foot* [fʊɪ̃t]. It seems to be somewhat more frequent before /d/ than before /t/. It occurs once before a palatal fricative in *pushed* [pʊɪ̃ʃt], LA 23, New Orleans, but the type [ʊɪ̃] with a fronting offglide may also occur in that position. LA 5, St. Francilville, has the latter phone in *push* [pʊɪ̃ʃ]. Also, LA 22, New Orleans, has the same sound in *Baton Rouge* [bætɪŋ rʊɪ̃ʒ], where it has developed from the free vowel /ʊ/ followed by a palatal fricative; and [ʊɪ̃] is regular in one standard pronunciation of *Louisiana* [lʊɪ̃ziæneɪ]. The smooth phone [ʊ] predominates before other consonants and in nonfinal syllables, as typically in *cook* [kʊk], *shook* [ʃʊk], *room* [rʊm], *bulls* [bʊlz], *butcher* [bʊtʃə], *cushion* [kʊʃən], and *sugar* [ʃʊgə]. One exception was noted: LA 17, Mansfield, has ingliding [ʊɪ̃] before /k/ in *cook* [kʊɪ̃k].

Figure 29 reveals no significant regional variation in the distribution of smooth and ingliding allophones of /ʊ/. Differences in the range of articulatory placement are related to those of /ʌ/.

As a variant of /ʊ/, the relatively centralized unrounded phone [ɤ], in some idiolects where it occurs, seems to be at one limit of a rather wide articulatory latitude with gradations between [ʊ] and [ʌ], and often including fronted [ɘ] as well. For example, in three instances of the word *good*, LA 31, Cameron, has three different pronunciations: [gɤd, gɤɛd], and [gɘd]. In *couldn't* under secondary stress he has [ʊ]:[kʊdn̩t]. LA 2, Columbia, has [ɤ] once in *good* [gɤd], but another time he has a normal ingliding phone: [gʊɛd]. On the other hand, both New Orleans informants have [ɤ] in *shook* [ʃɤk], but not in other words, leading one to suspect that it may be in complementary distribution with [ʊ] there. But confirming evidence is not available.

Although [ɤ] is also listed as one of the phones representing /ʌ/, there is little tendency for /ʊ/ and /ʌ/ to fall together in any one idiolect. The informants from New Orleans and Cameron do not use relatively high back varieties of /ʌ/, leaving /ɤ/ free to shift slightly toward a central unrounded position without danger of overlap. In the speech of LA 2, *month* [mɤɛnθ] and one instance of *good* [gɤd] do have vowels of much the same quality, but this pronunciation of *good* occurs alongside others which have vowels clearly different from any in the range [ʌ~ɤ] given for /ʌ/.

Vowels Before the Retracted Consonant

Before /ɹ/, the development of English vowels has not been the same as in other positions:¹ in the Louisiana recordings the inventory of vowel sounds occurring before historical /ɹ/ is smaller than for most other positions, and contrast relationships and articulatory features are not the same. The situation is complicated by the fact that in the speech of half or more of the informants, retracted phones [ə~ɹ] do not occur after vowels except when another vowel follows immediately. Instead, the /ɹ/ which occurred at an earlier state of the language and which is still consistently represented in standard spelling has either developed into a neutral vocalic phone or been lost. Yet the vowels of syllables where such a loss has occurred group naturally with vowels noted before [ə], indicating that historical /ɹ/, whether or not it is now articulated as a retracted phone, is an important feature in the environment of vowels that precede it. In order to indicate that abstract feature without confusing it with actual speech sounds, the symbol /R/ will be used to stand for retracted consonants at a hypothetical earlier stage of the language, and the symbol /r/ will continue to be used to stand for retracted phones [ə~ɹ] which function structurally as consonants. For purposes of discussion, two kinds of postvocalic /R/ may be posited: tautosyllabic and intervocalic. Tautosyllabic postvocalic /R/ occurs in final position and before consonants, as in *hear* and *horse*. Intervocalic /R/

¹See Kurath, *Phonology and Prosody*, pp. 27-29 for a concise history.

occurs between vowels, as in *orange*. The two types develop differently. Tautosyllabic /R/ may develop into [ə], [ɜ], or ɸ (zero); with certain exceptions, intervocalic /R/ develops into [ɹ]. Vowels, too, have developed somewhat differently before each type. Those before tautosyllabic /R/ will be discussed first.

All informants have vowels in the range of /I/ before tautosyllabic /R/. Ordinarily, such vowels are somewhat closer and longer than the [I ~ Iɛ] occurring before other consonants, and the centering offglide, always present in /IR/ when retraction is lost, is a little longer. In Jonesville, St. Francilville, and Clinton the vocalic nucleus of the homonyms *here* and *hear* may be nasalized, usually with a lowering and backing offglide, as in [hĩɔ̃ ~ hʲĩɔ̃], LA 10, Jonesville. Five other speakers besides LA 10 sometimes have an intrusive /j/ in *here*, *hear*, and *near*; in such cases the vowel nucleus following [j] may have a lowered beginning point; some examples showing the range of articulations are *nearly* [nʲɛ̃ə̃lɪ], LA 29, DeQuincy, and *here* [hʲɪɛ̃], LA 7, Clinton. Figure 30 shows that all six speakers who have intrusive /j/ are in Anglo Louisiana; the fact that all six are over sixty indicated that it is probably old-fashioned.

The phone [e] was found to be rare before tautosyllabic /R/; two instances were noted, both in the same word. LA 46, Irish Channel, has it in *player* [plɛɪə], and LA 34, St. Martinville, has it in the plural form *players* [plɛəz]. The fact that two morphemes are involved here is relevant; *play* has retained its usual pronunciation when combined with the suffix *-er*. The sequence [ɛɪə̃] was noted

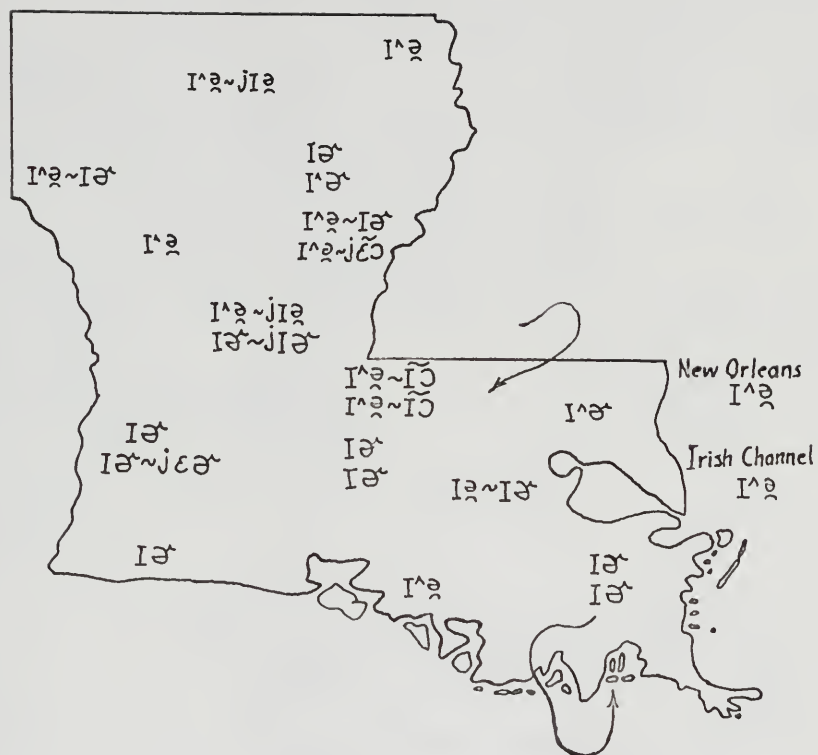


Figure 30. The vowel nucleus of such words as *deer*, *here*, and *near*.

twice, in *their*, from LA 23, New Orleans, and in *hair*, LA 28, DeQuincy. It appears to vary freely with [ɛ̃ ʔ]; LA 28 says [hɛ̃ ɪ ʔ] and [hɛ̃ ʔ] in successive sentences.

Mid front vowels in the range of /ɛ/ occur before tautosyllabic /R/ in the speech of all the informants, though such vowels may be articulated somewhat lower than the [ɛ ~ ɛ̃] found before other consonants. In fact, LA 17, Mansfield, and LA 2, Columbia, have a type [ɛ̃ ~ æ̃] intermediate between the usual articulation for /ɛ/ and that for /æ/. In addition, eight informants in east central Louisiana, have, besides [ɛ], a phonetically distinct [æ̃], as shown in Figure 31. In *where* and *there*, [ɛ] is regular, though LA 2, Columbia, says *where* [h w æ̃]. Otherwise, phonetic environment seems to be the best key to relative distribution. The higher vowel [ɛ̃] usually occurs after /k/, low front [æ̃], when present, after other consonants. LA 14, Natchitoches, and LA 10, Jonesville, furnish typical examples: LA 14 says *care* [k ɛ̃ ɹ] but *bare* [b æ̃ ɹ], and LA 10 says *scared* [s k ɛ̃ ɹ d] and *careful* [k ɛ̃ ɹ f ə l] but *bear* [b æ̃ ɹ]. Low front [æ̃] was also noted after /p/ and /t̃/, and initially.

As in most varieties of English, the historically expected mid central vowel /ʌ/ before tautosyllabic /R/ regularly develops into a retracted vowel [ɜ̃ ~ ɝ̃], here counted as the free vowel phoneme /ɜ̃/ discussed earlier. Likewise, a separate free vowel /ɔ̃/ is posited for historical /ɑR/ when the /R/ develops into φ or [ɹ]. That vowel too has been discussed, but it seems appropriate to mention it again here in relation to the development of /ɑ/ and /ɔ/ before /R/.

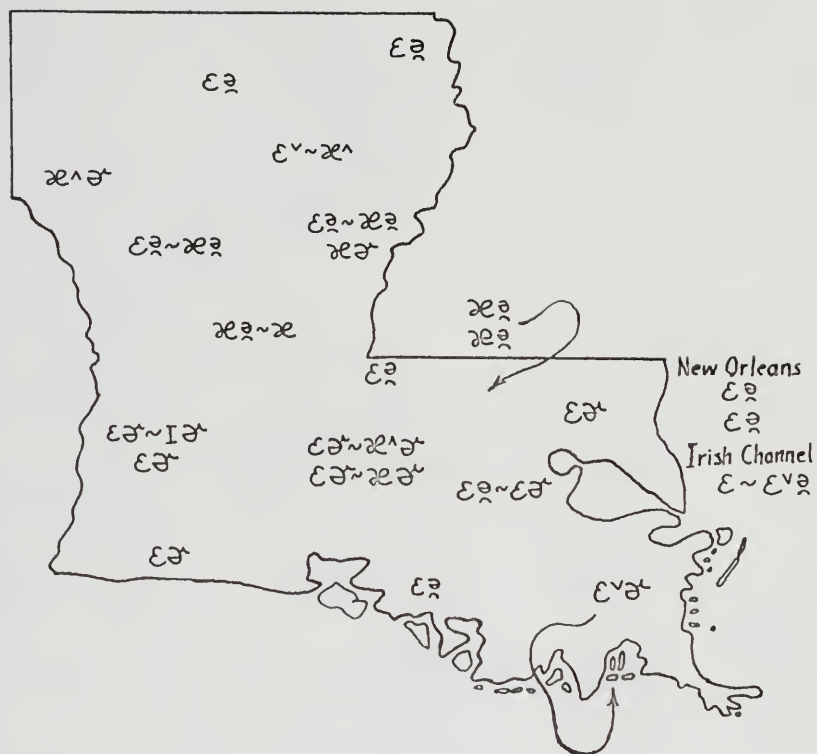


Figure 31. The vowel nucleus of such words as *chair*, *bear*, and *care*.

In general, Middle English short /a/, which developed into /æ/ in most environments, changed to Modern English /ɑ/ before tautosyllabic /R/. The tendency in Louisiana is for /ɑ/ to be backed and for /ɔ/, from Middle English short /ɔ/, to be lowered in this position. The resultant phones intergrade for many speakers. Since the author's transcriptions of free conversation showed a troublesome degree of inconsistency in the region of [ɑ ~ ɔ], the test phrase *horse barn* from the taped reading passage "Arthur the Rat" was used to determine that eleven informants in the southern third of Louisiana probably do not distinguish /ɑR/ and /ɔR/; the distribution is shown in Figure 32. Many speakers, for example LA 28, DeQuincy, and LA 33, St. Martinville, have a noticeably lower vowel in *horse* than *barn*: [hʰɑ̃s bə̃ʔn]. A few, like LA 36, Grand Isle, have about the same vowel in both words. For informants in the New Orleans area, except LA 23, /ɑR/ and /ɔR/ fall together with /ɔ/. The Irish Channel informants have relatively high close [ɔ̃ ~ ɔ] and LA 22 has vowels in a lower range: [ɑ ~ ɑ̃ ~ ɔ̃].

Before the cluster /R/ plus a nasal, as in *corn* and *normal*, the vowel that develops from earlier mid back to low back vowels is generally articulated in the range of /ɔ/ or slightly higher, as in *corn* [kɔ̃ʰn], LA 15, LeCompte. There is wide variation, though; LA 40, Hammond, has a much lower vowel in the same morpheme, [kɑ̃ʰn], and LA 31, Cameron, has a higher one in *horn* [hɔ̃ʰn].

Mid back vowels in the range of /o/ occur before /R/ in all parts of the state, as shown in Figure 33. The rising and backing off-glides which may be present before other consonants, as in *home* [hɔ̃ʰm], are usually absent before tautosyllabic /R/, as in *force* [fɔ̃ʰs ~ fɔ̃ʰs].

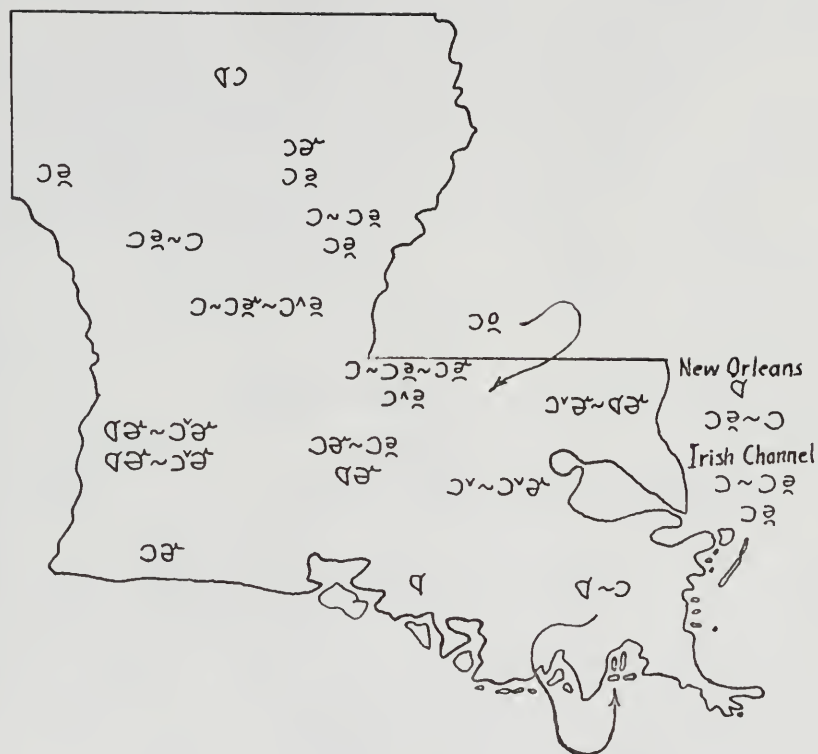


Figure 32. The vowel nucleus of such words as *horse* and *order*.

But three black and two white informants have such an offglide at least occasionally, as in *boards* [boʋəd̥z], LA 6, Clinton, and *bored* [boʋəd̥], LA 23, New Orleans. The other three informants are in the neighboring communities of St. Francisville and Clinton; all five are within thirty or forty miles of the Mississippi. Words that in Middle English had /ɔ:ʀ/ are regularly pronounced with a higher vowel than those that had /ɔʀ/. LA 5, St. Francisville, furnishes the following examples typical of all informants: *more* [moə̃], *gourdhead* [góə̃dhèəd̥], and *board* [boʋəd̥], but *warhorse* [wóh̥ɔ̃s], *forked* [fɔ̃ʔkɪd̥], and *shorter* [sɔ̃ʔtə̃].

Only six instances of vowels in the range of /ʊ/ before tautosyllabic /ʀ/ were noted. Unfortunately, the sample is not large enough to permit a description of distribution. *Sure* is the word most frequently noted; its pronunciation may be either [ʃʋə̃] or [ʃʋə̃]. It is likely that [ʃo ~ ʃoə̃] could also be found in Louisiana, but it was not noted on the DARE recordings.

Vowels in the range of /aʊ/, unlike those in the range of /o/, regularly have a rising and backing offglide before tautosyllabic /ʀ/. Often, the semivowel [w] develops before the [ə ~ ə̃] that develops from /ʀ/, as in *flour* [fláʋwə̃], LA 25, Franklin. On the average, the beginning element of the diphthong is farther back before /ʀ/ than in other positions. An extreme example is LA 11, Jonesville, who has [æə̃] in *house* and [aʋ] in *down* but [aə̃~áwə̃] in *our*.

The fully glided diphthong [aɪ] was noted occasionally before tautosyllabic /ʀ/, as in *fire* [faɪə̃], LA 40, Hammond, and *wire* [waɪə̃], LA 46, Irish Channel. Most other informants have smooth or

inglided low back to low central vowels as the regular development of Middle English long /i:/ before /R/. Typically, the articulatory position is the same as for the beginning element of the usual phonetic realization of /ai/; some examples are *tired* [taəd], LA 37, Grand Isle, *retired* [ritáəd], LA 14, Natchitoches, and *briars* [bra:z], LA 2, Columbia.

The Clinton informants have vowels noticeably farther back than [a]: LA 8 has [a~a:] in *wire* [wa] and *iron* [a:n]. This vowel is different from the [ɑ] of most of his words with /aR/, but substantially the same as in *large* [laɹɹ]. His wife, LA 7, has the same vowel in *fire* [fɑɹ] and *iron* [ɑɹn] as in *hard* [hɑəd].

When /R/ is followed immediately by another vowel, as in *marriage* and *glory*, a wider range of vowel sounds is possible than before tautosyllabic /R/. The high front free vowel /i/ occurs regularly in *pirogue* [píróʊg], in which secondary stress on the second syllable may be a factor. When the vowel following /R/ is unstressed, as in *period* [píriəd], LA 42, Irish Channel, [i] appears not to occur. Two informants, LA 16, LeCompte, and LA 3, St. Francisville, have the mid front free vowel /e/ in *area* [ériə]. The low front checked vowel /æ/ may occur before historic tautosyllabic /R/, as already seen, but it is more common in such words as *married* and *carrots*, where the /R/ is intervocalic. LA 14, Natchitoches, LA 8, Lake Providence, and LA 22, New Orleans, furnish typical examples; all have /ɛ/ in *care* [kɛɹ] but /æ/ in *carry* [kæɹɪ]. Judging by the examples available, informants whose historic final and pre-nasal /aR/ is articulated with a vowel backed to or toward [ɔ]

generally preserve [ɑ] before intervocalic /R/, as in *hardly* [hɑ́d|ɪ] and *horrible* [háɾəbət], LA 25, Franklin, or *parts* [pɑ́ɹts] and *harrow* [háɾə], LA 8, Lake Providence.¹ Other vowels which occur before both tautosyllabic and intervocalic /R/ have about the same quality in both positions.

Not all vowels can occur even before intervocalic /R/. Words with /e/ and /i/ in such a position are infrequent, and /u/, /ʌ/, /ɔi/, and /au/ were not noted before intervocalic /R/ at all. It is possible, of course, that some of those sequences may occur in Louisiana and either did not happen to occur in taped conversations or escaped notice.

The vowels before /R/ cannot be satisfactorily systematized phonologically with the unitary phonemic notation used here. If the analogy of /ɑ/ and /ɔ/ is followed, then new symbols are needed for such phones as the [ɪ̃ṛ] in *beard* when it contrasts with the vowels of *bead* and *bid* or the [õṛ ~ oʋṛ] in *bored* when it contrasts with the vowels of *bowed* and *bawd*. But the inventory of phonemes is already long. Rather than add to it, Kurath and McDavid posit an unsyllabic /ṛ/ which functions as a consonant; *beard* [bɪṛd] would then be phonemically represented as /bɪṛd/, and *bored* [boṛd] would be /boṛd/. This solution to the problem is essentially the same as the one proposed in the binary system of Trager and Smith, in which *bored* would be phonemicized as /bohd/ and *beard* as /bihd/.

¹The unusual development of Middle English short /a/ to Modern English /ɑ/ rather than /æ/ before intervocalic /R/ may have been conditioned by the original back rounded vowel in the second syllable. Compare the same speaker's *carry* [k̤éɾɪ]. Similarly, LA 7, Clinton, has [ɑ] in *barrow* (male swine castrated before maturity), but [æ] in *barrel*. His wife LA 6 has [æ] in *harrow*, however.

A different but related problem must be confronted in such a case as that of *card* and *cord* when they are both pronounced [kɑəd]. It is unnecessary to posit a new phoneme here because [ə] establishes contrast with *cod* and *cawed*. But there is no way to decide whether [ɑ] should be assigned to /ɑ/ or to /ɔ/ except by divine revelation or some other process equally difficult to confirm objectively.

The essence of the problem is that the vowels before /R/ constitute a separate subsystem. Neither articulatory characteristics nor contrast relationships are quite the same as in the general system. If we set up archiphonemes for the subsystem which span the range of two or more phonemes in the general system, we produce much the same effect on phonemic inventory as we would by merely adding phonemes. If we assign phones before /R/ to some of the phonemes in the general system, we must make arbitrary decisions about which phonemes they belong to.

Transformational generative phonology, by eliminating the phonemic level and working directly between a more abstract *grammatical* level and the phonetic realization, offers a scientifically elegant solution. The principle on which the system works may be briefly exemplified by describing the way *bore* would appear in three grammatical relationships in three representative idiolects—those of LA 14, Natchitoches, LA 31, Cameron, and LA 8, Lake Providence. Since all three idiolects have [r] in medial position, *boring* would be pronounced [bórɪn ~ bórɪŋ] in all three. We can then abstract the underlying grammatical form /bɔ̃r/, and write one rule which predicts the pronunciation [bɔr] for that form in all three idiolects when it is followed

by the underlying grammatical form /iŋg/. But when /bɔ̃r/ stands alone or is followed by the underlying form /ed/, different phonetic rules must be written for each idiolect. The rule for LA 14 must predict [boəd] for /bɔ̃r + ed/ and [boə] for /bɔ̃r/ alone. The rule for LA 31 must predict [boəd] and [boə], and the one for LA 8 must predict [boəd] and [boʊ]. The differences in these speech types are then defined as the grammatical differences in the rules for pronunciation. The scheme adequately explains the phonological differences without obscuring the relationships among the three idiolects.

Unstressed Vowels

The vowels of unstressed syllables are here considered to be in a separate subsystem from the vowels of stressed syllables. Although they are roughly comparable to certain stressed vowels, the unstressed vowels are set off by the relationships they exhibit within the phonological structure and by their wide latitude of articulatory placement. Most unstressed vowels fall naturally into three groups: high front /ɪ/, neutral /ə/, called schwa, and retracted /ɔ̃/. Additionally, back vowels distinct from the other three types were found in a few instances. Because minimal pairs involving the unstressed vowels are uncommon, their relationships cannot be precisely determined from recordings of free conversation. At best, a few broad tendencies can be described.

The High Front Unstressed Vowel

The high front unstressed vowel /ɪ/, as in the second syllable of *marriage* or *ferry*, may range in quality from mid front [ɛ] to high

front [i] and [I] to high central [ɪ]. Lowered and centralized varieties of /I/ grade into /ə/.

The vowel /I/ may occur in nonfinal syllables, as in *events* [ɪvɪənts] and *barbecue* [bá:bɪkjù], in final syllables either finally or preconsonantly, as in *marriage* [mæriʃ] and *very* [véɾɪ], and in unstressed monosyllables as in *him* [ɪm]. Generally speaking, high front allophones are most frequent before or after palatal consonants and in final position. The greatest raising and fronting occurs in the prevocalic position as in the second syllable of *area* [éɾiə], where the articulatory placement is essentially the same as for the stressed free vowel [i]. There appears to be little regional variation in the allophonic distribution just described.

The following tendencies in the relation of /I/ to other unstressed vowels were noted. In some etymological classes of unstressed syllables, /I/ regularly occurs; in others it varies more or less freely with /ə/; and in still others it never occurs. Among the syllables where it occurs regularly are the *-es* and *-ed* endings when they include a vowel, as in *roses* [róʒzɪz], *lasts* [læszɪz] (*sic*), and *repeated* [ɾɪpíɪd]. Some of the other final syllables in which it occurs regularly, given in their usual spellings, are *-est*, *-ist*, *-ic*, *-age*, and *-ing*. It is also regular finally as a development of Middle English high front vowels, as in *very* [véɾɪ], from Middle English *verry*, *verray*, though one instance of [véɾə] is recorded, from LA 22, New Orleans. In *extra* [ékstri], LA 40, Hammond, *magnolia* [mæɟnóɣtʃɪ], LA 29, DeQuincy, and *angora* [æŋɡóɾɪ],

LA 2, Columbia, it has developed in final position from earlier /ə/. Medial syllables may take either /ə/ or /I/, apparently without distinction, as in *tragedy* [træjədɪ] and *furniture* [fɜniɪə], LA 11, Jonesville. LA 14, Natchitoches, has /I/ in the second syllable of *marriage* [mæriʃ], but /ə/ in the second syllable of *manager* [mænəʃə]. In suffixes ending in final /n/ or /ŋ/ plus a consonant, /ə/ and /I/ grade into each other; some typical examples from various speakers are *covenant* [kɔvbɪnt], *pageant* [pæʃɪnt], and *innocent* [ɪnəsənt]. High front unstressed /I/ was not found on any of the Louisiana recordings as a development of etymological /əR/ or of a final back vowel.

The Retracted Unstressed Vowel

The retracted unstressed vowel /ɜ/ as in the second syllable of *mallard* or *finger* is phonetically similar to the strongly retracted variety [ɜ̠] of the stressed vowel /ɜ/ and to postvocalic consonantal /r/: the back of the tongue is bunched and the tip is retracted. The degree of retraction varies, and weakly retracted varieties grade into /ə/.

Etymologically, /ɜ/ seldom occurs except as a development of vowels plus /r/. Notes made at the time of field work indicate that two informants, LA 17, Mansfield, and LA 28, DeQuincy, may occasionally have /ɜ/ in final position in *window* and a few other unspecified words, but tape-recorded examples are lacking. It occurs in final syllables either finally, as in *bother* [bɑðɜ], or preconsonantly, as in *different* [dɪfɜnt], and in unstressed monosyllables, as in *for* [ɜ]

and *are* [ə̃]. It no doubt occurs in nonfinal syllables as well, but no recorded instances were noted. LA 17, Mansfield, who varies between [ə] and [ə̃] in final syllables developed from /əR/, has neutral [ə], in the second syllable of *government* [gə́vəmənt̩]. On the whole, /ə̃/ is more common in final position than before consonants.

Thirteen of the 28 informants for this study have /ə̃/, and for most of them it intergrades with /ə/, as shown in Figure 34. Fifteen informants have only /ə/ in syllables that are etymologically /əR/. The relative geographic distribution of /ə̃/ and /ə/ is much the same as that for the strongly and weakly retracted varieties of the stressed vowel /ɜ/. No isophones can be drawn, but in general the more strongly retracted types are most frequent in southwestern Louisiana.

The Neutral Unstressed Vowel

The neutral unstressed vowel schwa /ə/, as in the first syllable of *about* and the first and third syllables of *banana*, is most frequently articulated in mid central position. Its quality varies so widely, though, that an inclusive definition must say that any unstressed vocalic sound not noticeably either retracted or raised and fronted is considered to be /ə/.

Schwa occurs in nonfinal syllables, as in *apiece* [əpíːs] and *tragedy* [trǽjə dɪ], in final syllables either finally or pre-sonantly, as in *seven* [sɛ́vən] and *mama* [mámə], and in unstressed monosyllables, as in *a* [ə] and *an* [ən]. For fifteen out of twenty-eight

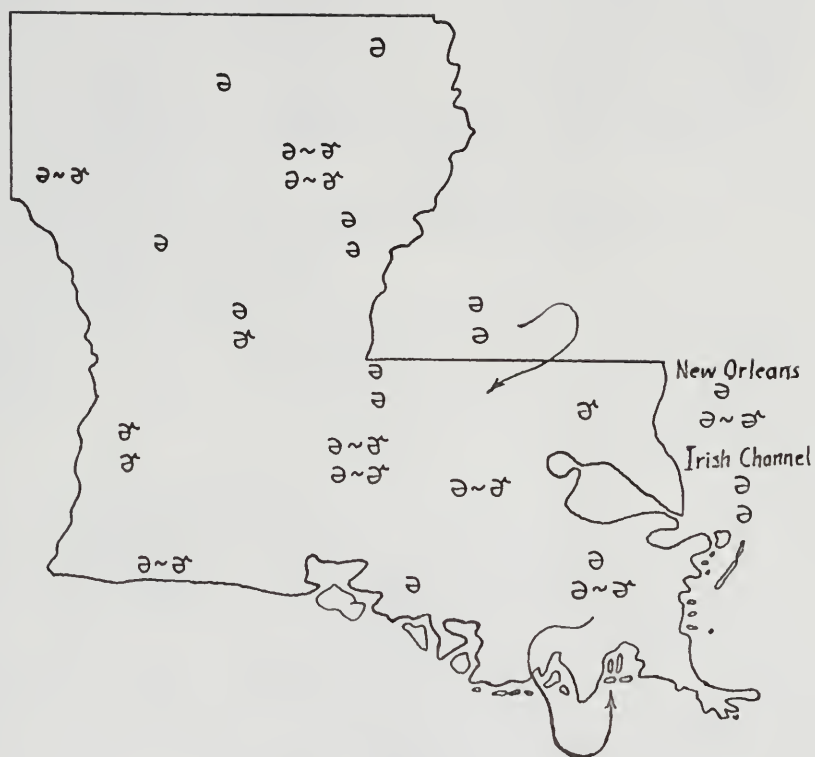


Figure 34. The vowel in the final syllable of such words as *never* and *finger*.

informants it occurs regularly as the development of etymological /əʀ/, and most of the other thirteen have it in such syllables at least part of the time. No other significant regional tendencies appear. As noted in the discussion of the high front unstressed vowel, schwa intergrades with /ɪ/ in medial and some final syllables in all parts of the state.

Other Unstressed Vowels

A few instances of unstressed back vowels were noted. LA 31, Cameron, and LA 20, Donaldsonville, have unstressed [ʊ] before [w] in *estuary* [ɛstʊwɛːɾɪ] and *Louisiana* [lʊwɪziːʒənə] respectively. LA 20 has it also in final position in *people* [pípu]. LA 14, Natchitoches, has unstressed [u] in *education* [ɛʝukéɪʒən]. And LA 23, New Orleans, has unstressed [o] in *homogeneous* [hòɣmoʝíniəs]. In the first two examples, the [w] following the vowel is probably responsible for preserving or promoting rounding and backing, but no such explanation is possible in the other cases. The last two examples are probably influenced most by a consciousness of the way the words are spelled. It must be noted that the pronunciation of *education* used by LA 14 is apparently a social class marker indicating, in Natchitoches, if not elsewhere in Louisiana, good breeding and *savoir faire*. The back vowel in the second syllable of *people* has evidently developed from [ə] backed by assimilation to the dark allophone of /ɪ/, which has been vocalized. The vowel is similar to the back vocalic offglides that develop when [ʔ] is lost after vowels, as in

wolf [wʊɹf], LA 2, Columbia, and *bills* [bɪʊz], LA 15, LeCompte.

It is clearly different from the [ə] that LA 20 has as a development of earlier /əR/, as in *crusher* [krʌʃə]. But not all informants who use vocalized realizations of etymological /ə/ maintain such a distinction; LA 8, Lake Providence, uses the same final vowel in *grindle* [grínə] and *double* [dʌbə] as in *pressure* [préʃə].

Summary and Conclusion

As mentioned earlier, the lexically oriented DARE field records do not permit dialect boundaries to be drawn with the same precision as if the field work had been planned and executed toward that end. The descriptions just given, together with the maps that accompany them, were designed to show what speech characteristics may be expected within regions, not to show what the regions are. Even so, the material available is sufficient to draw certain tentative conclusions about the extent of the speech regions of Louisiana as well as the characteristics that help to distinguish them.

Regional Variation

It is obvious by now that no phonological justification has been found for distinguishing the Florida Parishes from northern Louisiana; hence they have been repeatedly lumped together under the name "Anglo Louisiana." The people who settled these areas brought with them two major speech types, which have come to be called Southern or Coastal Southern and South Midland. The resultant intermixture of

speech characteristics, relative both to the lexicon, as shown by previous researchers, and to phonology, as shown in this study, has been so thorough that virtually all communities and most individuals show divided usage. Yet certain speech features can be said to characterize Anglo Louisiana either because nearly all informants share them or because they are rare or absent in other regions in the state.

The most clear-cut consonantal distinction involves the cluster /hw/; it is regularly preserved in all Anglo communities except St. Francisville. The interdental fricatives /θ/ and /ð/ do not vary to /t/ and /d/ in most parts of Anglo Louisiana, though scattered instances of such variation were observed along the Mississippi valley.

Free vowels are usually articulated as upglided diphthongs, except for /ɶ/, which, in those idiolects in which it occurs, is generally inglided before consonants and smooth in final position. Phones in the ranges of /i/, /ɔ/, and /u/ are sometimes smooth, especially before consonants, but /e/, /o/, /ɔi/, and /au/ are regularly diphthongal. The latter two may, however, be inglided rather than upglided. The tendency is for /ai/ to be weakly glided or monophthongal finally or before voiced consonants and to be more strongly glided before voiceless consonants. There are a good many exceptions to this rule, and in any case the phoneme behaves about the same in French as in Anglo Louisiana. It is mentioned here so that later it can be compared to the phonetic realizations usual in New Orleans.

In general, the checked vowels show fewer differences between speech regions than free vowels do. The mid central checked vowel /ʌ/

is an exception. In Anglo Louisiana it is frequently realized as a phone [$\Lambda^{\sim} \sim \text{ʌ}$] shifted toward the position for / ʊ /. This phone may be inglided, or, in some idiolects, upglided. Other checked vowels show regional variation only in certain phonetic environments. For example, the upglided allophone of low front / æ / which some speakers use before palatal, alveolar, and labial voiceless fricatives and before / ŋ / plus another consonant are limited to Anglo Louisiana. The complex patterns of reduced contrast before nasals are limited largely to Anglo Louisiana, though it does appear that the falling together of / I / and / ɛ / before / ŋ / is being extended southward. The introduction of / j / before historic / IR / after / h / and / n /, resulting in such pronunciations as *here* [hji^{\sim}] and *nearly* [$\text{njé}^{\sim} \text{i}$] is also limited to Anglo Louisiana. But that dialectal feature appears to be on its way out, since it is limited to speakers aged sixty or over.

In the wedge of parishes in southern Louisiana first settled by French speaking people, a mixture of English speech patterns similar to that farther north has been complicated by an admixture of French. The result on the vocabulary has been to make French Louisiana a focal zone from which borrowed Louisiana French words have penetrated into surrounding regions. Study of the DARE recordings indicates that phonological characteristics distinctive to the region have not spread to the same extent; only border communities show French influence, and even there the influence is limited. Furthermore, in those French Louisiana communities with a long history of Anglo settlement, like Cameron and Franklin, French phonological influence may be severely

limited, especially among families whose background is chiefly or entirely Anglo.

Among the consonants, the /hw/ cluster does not occur in French Louisiana except in the speech of LA 20, Donaldsonville, and LA 31, Cameron. The latter is effectively an Anglo informant residing in French Louisiana. Etymological /θ/ and /ð/ often vary to dental, and sometimes to alveolar, varieties of /t/ and /d/ in initial and final positions, though they rarely do so medially.

The free vowels, except for /aⁱ, a^u, oⁱ/, are phonetically realized as monophthongs more often in French Louisiana than in other parts of the state. Especially noticeable are smooth pronunciations of /e/ and /o/, which are almost invariably glided in Anglo Louisiana. Glided /u/ is rare in French areas, and glided /i/ is even rarer. The free vowel /ɔ/, often upglided, never inglided in Anglo Louisiana, is sometimes inglided but seldom upglided in French Louisiana. Smooth phones in the region of /ɔ/ may occur in any part of the state. The diphthong /a^u/ begins farther back and ends higher than in Anglo Louisiana. The diphthong /aⁱ/ has approximately the same variants in both regions.

The checked vowels show less allophonic variation than in Anglo Louisiana. Etymological high front /i/ is characteristically not lowered before /ŋ/, and there appear at least vestiges of a contrast between /i/ and /ɛ/ before /ŋ/. The mid central vowel /ʌ/ is only rarely shifted toward /ʊ/; in fact, in Grand Isle it is more likely to be shifted toward /a/. Glided pronunciations of /ʌ/ were not observed. Neither were upglided pronunciations of /æ/; in those

environments where the English of other parts of the state sometimes has upglided phones, that of French Louisiana has inglided ones.

The mixture of cultural and linguistic streams in New Orleans has resulted in overall speech patterns apparently unique to the city and its environs, though most individual features can be found elsewhere. Probably, New Orleans and its suburbs should be set off as a separate subregion. Only after further research will it be clear how many speech patterns can be found within the city; residents themselves disagree about the exact number, but not about the existence of several distinct types.

The only example of an articulation apparently characteristic of New Orleans itself is the somewhat backed beginning element of the phoneme /aⁱ/, together with the frequent complete absence of an upglide before voiced consonants and in final position.

In other respects, three New Orleans and Irish Channel informants most frequently follow patterns established as general for French Louisiana. LA 23 generally follows the usage of Anglo Louisiana. But even she follows French Louisiana patterns with respect to the treatment of checked front vowels before /ŋ/, the absence of an upglided variety of /æ/, and the treatment of words like *here* and *near*. Except for LA 23, New Orleanians also follow French Louisiana patterns in respect to the preservation of an unlowered /I/ before /ŋ/, the use of monophthongal varieties of /u/, the variation between dental fricatives and dental—usually not alveolar—stops, and the absence of the cluster /hw/.

New Orleans English is most like that of Anglo Louisiana with respect to the use of glided varieties of /i/ and of fronted and lowered phones representing /au/. Characteristics of /e/ and /ɔ/ were divided, but favored Anglo Louisiana somewhat. With respect to /o/, usage in New Orleans is divided about evenly, according to the evidence available, between patterns of French and Anglo Louisiana.

In addition to the many variants that correspond well to the boundaries of the speech regions just discussed, a few do not. The area in which /a/ and /ɔ/ fall together before /R/, if it has been correctly defined, lies in the southern third of the state, overlapping both French and Anglo communities in that area. And the area in which Middle English short /ɔ/ may, in certain words where it was not followed by /r/, develop into Modern English /ɑ/ or /ɔ/ extends in a wide band across the state from the southeast corner of Mississippi to the southwest corner of Louisiana itself. Raised phones in the region of /æ/ appear in a band along the Mississippi. Widespread variation in the treatment of postvocalic /r/ and the related vowels /ɑ, ɜ, ɔ/ serves mostly to illustrate the mixture of Midland and Southern speech features in Louisiana, but the pattern without postvocalic /r/ seems to be less frequent in the southwestern part of the state than elsewhere.

Variation by Age and Social Level

Generally speaking, the DARE materials did not permit many conclusions about phonological variation according to age or educational level. The realization of /IR/ as [jɪʔ ~ jɛʔ] which seems to be

limited to older speakers in Anglo Louisiana is practically the only clear-cut case of age variation. A much less well-defined tendency involves postvocalic /r/. Some informants consistently have it, some consistently lack it, but most exhibit divided usage. In general, most of those whose usage is consistent or nearly so are in the old group. The exact converse is not quite true; it cannot be said that most of those whose usage is divided are young or middle aged. But it is true that all but one young informant exhibit divided usage. The implication is that speech patterns with and without postvocalic /r/ which formerly existed side by side in communities are being merged in the speech patterns of individuals. It is possible that further research based on a larger sampling of informants would reveal other age differences, but no other unmistakable trends are apparent from the DARE recordings.

Social variation is about as difficult to describe accurately as is age variation. The tendency of LA 17, Mansfield, to employ r-less forms more frequently in relatively formal speech than in more relaxed functional varieties indicates a certain amount of social prestige for speech patterns without postvocalic /r/, at least in Mansfield. No clear social tendencies are revealed, however, when informants with and without postvocalic /r/ are tabulated according to type. Three phenomena appear to be limited to type I informants: the rounded variant of /ɜ/, the pronunciations [ʌɪ ~ ɑɪ] for vowel nuclei spelled *oi*, and centering offglides for the vowel nucleus /ɔɪ/. To avoid getting bogged down in a plethora of details, the general

tendency with regard to informant types can be summarized thus: other factors being equal, type III informants usually exhibit the simplest phonological patterns, with fewer allophones in a more regular distribution than type I informants. Type II informants are usually somewhere between. There are a number of exceptions to this tendency, but comparison of Table 10 or Table 24, both illustrating type III speech, to Table 3 or Table 16, both illustrating type I speech, will show the general tendency well enough. In order for such comparisons to be fully meaningful, it would be necessary to start with a sampling of more than one type and age classification from each community.

As in the case of age and type, no firm conclusions can be drawn about the special social classification of race. As before, however, certain tendencies can be tentatively set forth. All four black informants are among the total of ten who consistently do not have postvocalic /r/, a ready example of the tendency that South Midland features are less common in the speech of Negroes than that of whites. Certain other features, like the raised variants of /æ/, are relatively more frequent among black people than white, but regional distinctions may be more important than racial ones. The development of final /θ/ to /f/ and the lengthening of stressed vowels in disyllables with the second syllable unstressed were heard only from black informants. The sampling was too small, however, to justify saying that they are racial speech features.

As in other parts of the interior South, dialectal patterns have not yet settled down. Almost any generalization should be

understood to include the acknowledgement of numerous exceptions. Perhaps the most important conclusion to be drawn is that phonological variations in Louisiana speech show a set of relationships so complex that simple, clear statements about them cannot accurately reflect the facts. The descriptions in this study are presented in the hope that they may assist in the formulation of more accurate generalizations about American English than have been possible even if those generalizations must also be more complex than before.

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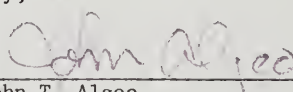
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BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

August Weston Rubrecht was born October 17, 1941, at Garfield, Arkansas. In 1959 he graduated from Rogers High School, Rogers, Arkansas. He attended Ambassador College, Pasadena, California, and John Brown University, Siloam Springs, Arkansas. In August, 1964, he received the degree of Bachelor of Arts with a major in English from Arkansas Polytechnic College, Russellville, Arkansas. From September, 1964, until August, 1967, he studied in the Graduate School of the University of Florida on an NDEA Fellowship. He then worked for a year as a field worker for the *Dictionary of American Regional English*, Madison, Wisconsin.

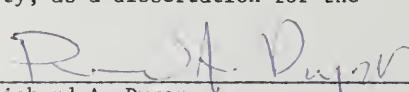
In September, 1968, August Weston Rubrecht was married to the former Lois Lynn Virnau. He returned to the University of Florida to study on a Graduate School Fellowship for one year. From 1969 until the present time he has taught at the University of Florida while pursuing his work toward the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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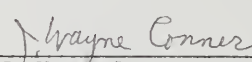
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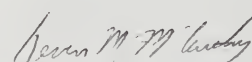
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This dissertation was submitted to the Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences and to the Graduate Council, and was accepted as partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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